THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. IX, No. 1 Fall 1998

Highlights

James Robb describes the new Evangelicals for Immigration Reform (EIR) 5

Roy Beck analyzes the Liberal Protestant view of refugee issues 9

A Parishioner in Maine Rethinks her Liberal View of Migration ...13

Religion and Politics in Canada 16

Peter Brimelow Discusses Immigration's Impact on Education and Multiculturalism 27

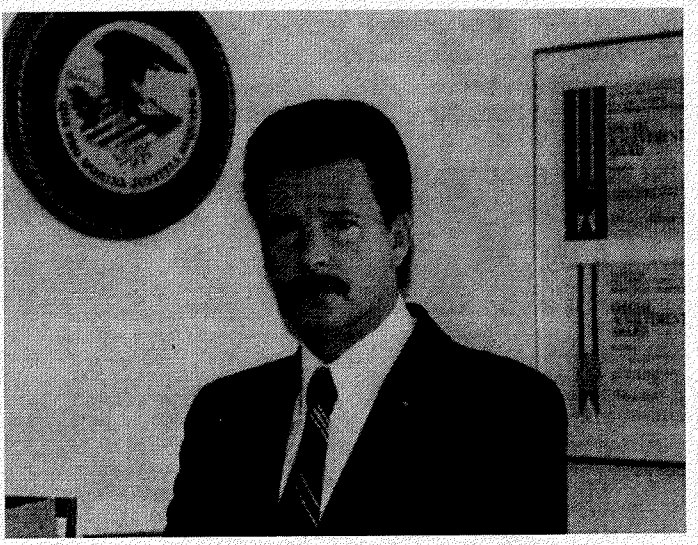
Stork and Squatter Victory in America's Southwest 33

Gerda Bikales reports on French Immigration Reform — Act II 40

John Zmirak Challenges McKibben's Plea for Single-Child Families 45

Book Reviews 52

Making the Case for Faith-based Immigration Reform



For a special interview with former INS investigator Joseph Occhipinti, see p. 19

U.S. $7.50 • ISSN 1055-145X

Visit us on the internet at **www.tscpress.com**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

About The Social Contract

The English philosopher John Locke, whose thinking helped inspire the American revolution, said that society should be governed by an understood set of values he termed "the social contract." Under the social contract, governments have obligations to their citizens, and citizens have responsibilities to society.

Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones. What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When "rights" collide, which ones take precedence? The concept of the social contract helps us sort out the difficult issues confronting American society today and helps us find balance.

Each quarter, **The Social Contract** journal examines trends, events and ideas that could unravel America's delicate social fabric. Key topics addressed by this journal:

- *Human population issues, including absolute size, rate of growth and distribution.* Do cherished American ideals prosper or suffer through further population growth?
- *Immigration issues.* In order to best facilitate meeting the highest goals of the American people, (1) how many immigrants should we admit? (2) who should be admitted, and (3) how can we humanely enforce the rules?
- *Language, assimilation, culture and national unity considerations.* What are the shared values necessary to the maintenance of our social contract?
- *The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities.* Since the previous issues are so often framed in terms of rights, what are the balancing obligations?
- *Other nations' efforts at guarding or creating their own social contracts.* What practical insight can be gained from observing the failures and successes in nation-building by other societies?

The Social Contract explores these complex and interrelated issues with articles varying greatly in outlook and philosophy in the attempt to further vigorous public debate.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. IX, No. 1 Fall 1998

Contents

3 **A Note from the Editor**

4 **Bulletin Board**

5 **Evangelicals for Immigration Reform**
James Robb describes a new effort to enlist Evangelical Christians into the immigration reform movement.

9 **Liberal Protestant View of the Refugee Issue**
Roy Beck analyzes the adult study materials prepared for this year's social issue topic among mainline churches.

13 **A Liberal's Rethinking**
Jonette Christian describes her intellectual and spiritual journey toward advocating immigration reform in a talk to members of her home congregation.

16 **Religion and Politics in Canada**
Mark Wegierski laments that religion in Canada is pulling back from public effectiveness in favor of multiculturalism and political correctness.

19 **Joe Occhipinti Interview**
Kevin Jenks went on assignment for The Social Contract to interview a decorated INS investigator who was convicted of unlawful search and seizure in the course of performing his duties.

27 **Immigration's Impact on Education and Multiculturalism**
Peter Brimelow, senior editor at *Forbes* magazine and author of *Alien Nation*, was invited to speak at the 1998 Windsor Castle Conference on "The Multiculturalist Revolution: Lessons Our Children Learn."

33 **Stork and Squatter Victory**
David Simcox adds another essay to the Malthus Bicentennial collection as he discusses population growth in the American Southwest.

40 **French Immigration Reform — Act II**
Gerda Bikales continues her reporting of immigration issues in France, this time in the wake of leadership changes.

45 **Demographic Masochism**
John Zmirak uses Bill McKibben's plea for single-child families as a springboard to discuss the self-hating decline of American culture.

50 **Challenging the Myths**
Wayne Lutton leads us to a handsome website on the Internet sponsored by the Canadafirst Immigration Reform Committee.

Book Reviews

52 Thomas Sowell's *Conquests and Cultures: An International History* is reviewed by Kevin Lamb.

55 Michael S. Teitelbaum and Jay M. Winter's *A Question of Numbers: High Immigration, Low Fertility and the Politics of Identity Since 1960* is reviewed by Leon Bouvier.

58 Stephen Gilbar collected and edited the essays and stories in *Natural State, A Literary Anthology of California Nature Writing*. It is reviewed by Tom Andres.

60 Robert L. McConnell and Daniel C. Abel's *Environmental Issues: Measuring, Analyzing and Evaluating* is reviewed by John Rohe.

61 John Gray's *False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism* is reviewed by Ted Wheelwright.

64 J. Edward Taylor, Philip L. Martin and Michael Fix have written *Poverty amid Prosperity: Immigration and the Changing Face of Rural California*. It is reviewed by Wayne Lutton.

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is published four times a year by The Social Contract Press, 316½ East Mitchell Street, Petoskey, MI 49770.
Phone (616) 347-1171, Fax (616) 347-1185. Send mail correspondence and address corrections to address above,
or e-mail to soccon@freeway.net. See our World Wide Web page at www.tscpress.com.
To order subscriptions or books call toll free: 1-800-352-4843. Third class postage paid at Petoskey, Michigan. Copyright © 1998.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why is Race the Problem That Will Not Go Away?

The Real American Dilemma

Race, Immigration, and the Future of America

Jared Taylor, Editor

On no other subject does private opinion diverge so greatly from public expression. We can solve our nation's problems only if we speak honestly about them. Here is insightful, utterly candid commentary by:

Dr. Samuel Francis
Prof. Philip Rushton
Prof. Michael Levin.
Prof. Glayde Whitney
Jared Taylor
Dr. Wayne Lutton
Fr. James Thornton

and others not afraid of violating PC taboos.

To order, please call:
(800) 352-4843
Price: $9.95 (paper)
New Century Books

Publisher
John H. Tanton
Petoskey, Michigan

Editor
Wayne Lutton
Petoskey, Michigan

Managing Editor
Robert Kyser
Alanson, Michigan

Washington Editor
Roy Beck
Arlington, Virginia

Contributing Editor
James Robb
Arlington, Virginia

Washington Office
1601 N. Kent Street, #1100
Arlington, VA 22209
phone 703-816-8820
fax 703-816-8824

International Correspondents

Gerda Bikales
Paris, France

Wolfgang Bosswick
Nurnberg, Germany

Denis McCormack
North Fitzroy, Victoria, Australia

Editorial Advisory Board

Sharon Barnes
Brooklyn, New York

Hugh Graham
Nashville, Tennessee

Katharine Betts
Mt. Waverly, Victoria, Australia

Otis L. Graham Jr.
Wilmington, North Carolina

Leon Bouvier
Fruitland Park, Florida

Janet F. Harte
Corpus Christi, Texas

Vernon L. Briggs Jr.
Ithaca, New York

Ira Mehlman
Los Angeles, California

Viktor Foerster
Nurnberg, Germany

David Simcox
Louisville, Kentucky

Dan Stein
Washington, D.C.

The Social Contract is published quarterly.

© 1998 by The Social Contract

Editorial and Subscription Offices:
316½ E. Mitchell Street, Petoskey, Michigan 49770
phone: 616-347-1171, fax: 616-347-1185
Email: soccon@freeway.net
World Wide Web page: http://www.tscpress.com

Third Class Postage is paid at Petoskey, Michigan

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Note from the Editor about this Issue

As a recent Roper Poll indicated, large majorities of Americans who identify themselves as "strongly religious," Protestants and Roman Catholics, all support immigration reform. Yet, religious organizations and their leaders are not in the forefront of the immigration reform movement.

In an effort to reach an understanding of what appears to be a serious disconnect between pew and pulpit, we invited our Washington, D.C.-based contributors to explore aspects of this question. Jim Robb, founder of Evangelicals for Immigration Reform, outlines Scripture-based principles for immigration restriction. Roy Beck reviews a liberal Protestant study guide on how to treat refugees and international migrants. Then we present a heart-felt speech before a Unitarian congregation by Jonette Christian on how her views changed over time toward support of population stabilization. Our correspondent from Toronto, Mark Wegierski, discusses how immigration and related issues are treated by various Christian sects in Canada.

The United States has become a happy hunting ground for a United Nations of criminal factions. For over twenty years, Joseph Occhipinti battled alien criminals while working for the Immigration and Naturalization Service. We are pleased to publish a transcript of a recent interview of Mr. Occhipinti conducted by contributor Kevin Jenks.

British expatriate, and *Forbes* senior editor, Peter Brimelow addressed a seminar hosted by the Foundation Endowment at Windsor Castle this past summer. Many of our readers are sure to be challenged by his remarks, reprinted here.

The Social Contract continues to observe the Malthus Bicentennial. In another installment in this series of essays, which has gained notice from parties around the globe, David Simcox discusses population policies since the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

Environmental and population writer Bill McKibben hit the op-ed pages last Spring, while the debate over the Sierra Club's stance on immigration was receiving national attention. Dr. John Zmirak, currently based in New York City, replies to McKibben's call for American's to limit the size of their own families in order to make room for more immigrants.

We welcome Gerda Bikales back home after a three-year assignment in Paris. In this issue, she shares her reflections on the changed status of the immigration debate in France.

A lot of interesting material relating to our concerns is posted on the Internet. One of the best sites, both in terms of information and visual presentation, is that of CanadaFirst. Among their features is a series of twenty popular "Myths About Immigration." We include a sampling in this issue.

On our Bulletin Board, we have included the updated websites for Glenn Spencer's Voice of Citizens' Together, which is a site you will want to visit for their regular updates. Samuel Francis, who writes on our related issues more often than any other columnist in America, also has a new website address.

We end this issue with reviews of six recent books dealing with demographics, comparative culture, and global capitalism's impact on immigration.

Our Winter number will feature a discussion of the vexing question of creating more secure identification documents, and the tension this has created between immigration restrictionists and civil libertarians. David Simcox will help guide us through this minefield.

As always, we welcome your comments and suggestions.

WAYNE LUTTON, PH.D., Editor

Letter to the Editor

Dear Sir:

Your magazine is consistently excellent and uplifting. Thank goodness that someone is doing this valuable work. The latest issue on "Europhobia" was a valuable discussion of the anti-whiteness which is at the heart of the immigration problem.

One point: Susan "the white race is the cancer of civilization/human history" Sontag, was quoted twice (on pages 289 and 314) but a reference for her notorious quote was never given. She said, "The white race is the cancer of human history. It is the white race and it alone — its ideologies and inventions — which eradicates autonomous civilizations wherever it spreads, which has upset the ecological balance of the planet, which now threatens the very existence of life itself." (*Partisan Review*, Winter 1967, p.57)

ALISTAIR MCCONNACHIE
Edinburgh, Scotland

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Bulletin Board

Immigration on the Internet

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT journal and THE SOCIAL CONTRACT PRESS are on the internet. Our address is: **www.tscpress.com**.

Our home page gives our mission statement, information about THE SOCIAL CONTRACT, editorials from several immediately previous issues which highlight the contents of each, and a list of books for sale.

Here are some other sites that readers may be interested in exploring. By listing them here The Social Contract does not imply an endorsement of all the material on any specific site.

- English Language Advocates is a national organization working to make English the official language of government: <elausa.org>
- Information about Affirmative Action for Immigrants is shared by Jim Robb at <pw2.netcom.com/~jimrobb>
- Carrying Capacity Network has a new website at <carryingcapacity.org>
- Negative Population Growth has a new website at: <www.npg.org>
- Philip Martin publishes *Migration News* and can be reached at <migration.ucdavis.edu>.
- Professor Norman Matloff has many articles and a great deal of data at:<heather.cs.ucdavis.edu/pub/Immigration/Index/html>.
- Joseph Daleiden heads the Midwest Coalition for Responsible Immigration. His web site is: <enteract.com/~mcri97>.
- *People and Place* is a journal published by the Centre for Population andUrban Research at Monash University in Australia. They can be reached at <swin.edu.au/sbs/pub/pnp>.
- <canadafirst.net> includes much information and thoughtful views from the Canadian Immigration Reform Committee.
- Glenn Spencer leads Voices of Citizens Together at: <americanpatrol.com>.
- <cofcc.org> reaches the Council of Conservative Citizens.
- Columnist Samuel Francis now maintains a website at <www.samfrancis.net>
- The Biocentric Institute website is prepared by Bill Dickinson at <ultralink/net/IAPM>
- <http://members.home.net/eanews> is the website for European American News about the civil rights of European Americans.
- GRIP — Georgians for Responsible Immigration Policy: http://micromgt.home.mindspring.com/grip/.
- Aliens in IOWA! Contains an interview with Steve Rapp, U.S. Attorney for the Northern District in Iowa: <fyiowa.com/aliens/alien005.htm>
- PEG is the Political Ecology Group, founders of the "Immigration and Environment Campaign" — a pro-open borders initiative: <igc.org/peg>
- *Mankind Quarterly, The Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* — articles and reviews including population, immigration and public policy: <mankind.org>.
- The Aztlan Organization is at <aztlan.org>.
- <fedpub.com/immigration> brings up Federal Publications, Inc. which has a subheading for developments in immigration law.
- The American Immigration Lawyers Association is at <aila.org/home.htm>.
- <lrainc.com/swtaboo/> is based on Garrett Hardin's idea of "stalking the wild taboo."
- "Immigration by the Numbers" continues the thrust of Roy Beck's video at <numbersusa.com>.
- <amren.com> reaches American Renaissance.
- *Politically Incorrect — An On-line Magazine* is at <cyad.com/cvgibin/pinc/july97/index.html>

E-mail addresses for pertinent organizations:

- <fair@fairus.org> The Federation for American Immigration Reform
- <center@cis.org> Center for Immigration Studies (CIS)
- <npg@npg.org> Negative Population Growth
- <ccn@igc.apc.org> Carrying Capacity Network (CCN)
- <caps@calweb.com> Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS)
- And, of course, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT's e-mail address is <soccon@freeway.net>. TSC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Evangelicals for Immigration Reform

Are there Biblical reasons to support reforms?

by James Robb

At meetings of immigration reform advocates, I sometimes stick out. I am an Evangelical, the sort of conservative Christian often (but mistakenly) identified as a fundamentalist. There are scores of millions of us in the United States, according to estimates.

I share a set of beliefs with fellow Evangelicals found in various Protestant denominations around the world. Some of these beliefs are: the divinity of Christ, Man's sinfulness and inability to save his own soul, the necessity of being "born again" (meaning changed from within by accepting the claims of Christ), the authority of the Bible, and the imperative to do good works as Christ commanded.

> A new movement is underway to help Evangelical Christians understand how necessary it is to reform America's immigration laws.

Although there are lots of Evangelicals, there aren't huge numbers of us in the immigration reform movement at present for a couple of reasons. First, a certain number of immigration reform activists have come to the issue through their involvement in the population issue. Traditionally population activists have supported and even promoted abortion rights. Nearly all Evangelicals, on the other hand, accept the pro-life point of view. We vigorously oppose abortion, although most of us strongly support non-abortive birth control methods. So, frankly, Evangelicals have often felt out of place in immigration reform meetings.

But this begs the point. Are there reasons *other than population* to support bringing down levels of immigration? Well, there must be, if you study the polling numbers carefully enough. In the Harris Poll conducted in 1997, highly religious persons were found to be just as overwhelmingly supportive of immigration reform as were non-religious and moderately religious types. My experience tells me that these highly religious persons have little interest in population as an issue.

Although the majority of Evangelicals at the grass-roots level support immigration cuts, their leaders are more ambivalent. Especially in Washington, Evangelical leaders and pundits tend toward what amounts to an open borders approach. Some of these are guided by an interesting twist on the missionary impetus — they have explained to me that the best way to convert non-believers is to bring them to the U.S. Other leaders are motivated more from simple compassion. They simply cannot bear to refuse the request of poor people asking for a chance to better themselves.

Being an Evangelical, I, of course, identify with a desire to save souls and help the needy. Yet I also know that my instincts tell me that America's present immigration policies are ill-conceived and lead to severe consequences.

Also, I have seen that the (in my view) wicked Libertarian movement, which has made such strong headway among political conservatives, has begun to infect religious conservatives as well. This is truly alarming. Libertarians celebrate the rights of the individual to an excess and excoriate the need for the protections that only a nation-state can bring. National borders are seen as an evil by hard-core Libertarians.

About a year ago I began to think, *Is there a way to explain the need for immigration reform using the Bible?* I knew that I would not get very far with most of my fellow Evangelicals if I couldn't explain how my

---

***James Robb** is a contributing editor of* The Social Contract.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

views on immigration were rooted in my faith. More important still, I needed to see for myself.

So I took up the project and developed six principles concerning immigration reform I felt could be fairly supported from Scripture. I was encouraged by how right these principles felt to me. This is how the Evangelicals for Immigration Reform (EIR) coalition was begun early in 1998.

The Six Principles

1) God loves all human beings equally and shows no favoritism among nations. As the New Testament says, in Christ there is "neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female..." (Galatians 3:28).[1] While America does enjoy remarkable blessings, we do not suggest God loves poorer or more poorly ruled nations any less.

2) America should be a *welcoming* country, allowing a generous level of immigration. As believers, we are eager to share our blessings with as many newcomers as possible, just as our ancestors were once welcomed here. We wish to identify with the patriarch Job who said, "I was father to the needy; I took up the case of the stranger" (Job 29:16). We absolutely reject hatred of foreigners, racial demagoguery and the like.

"...God in Scripture has explicitly endorsed the need for both national communities and national boundaries. The chaos of 'open borders' is not an option."

3) Yet we also believe that God in Scripture has explicitly endorsed the need for both national communities and national boundaries. The chaos of "open borders" is not an option. The Apostle Paul in his speech to the Athenians made this clear: "From one man, [God] made every nation of men, that they should inhabit the whole earth; and he determined the times set for them and the exact places they should live." (Acts 17:26).

4) Governments have a responsibility to maintain order and also to protect the vulnerable among us. These include poor Americans and the immigrants already here. As one proverb commands, "Speak up for those who cannot speak for themselves, for the rights of all who are destitute" (Proverbs 31:8). Decisions on immigration policies must take into account the impact additional immigrants may have on struggling families, the communities which shelter them, and the schools which educate them.

5) Therefore, the government must resist helping newcomers *at the expense* of our own poor and minorities — some of whom, as in the case of black Americans, have toiled here for hundreds of years. As Paul wrote to early Christians, "If anyone does not provide for his relatives, and especially for his immediate family, he has denied the faith and is worse than an unbeliever" (I Timothy 5:8).

6) Finally, the government must not introduce new cultures and religions into the country so rapidly that social cohesiveness is threatened. No nation can successfully absorb change as fast as America has been asked to do in recent years. Much of the Old Testament concerns itself with the struggle of the people of Israel to maintain their national identity. Failing to respect social unity invites a resurgence of nativism, the belief that immigrants should not possess full civil rights.

Policy Implications

One thing I want to stress is that neither EIR nor I presume to represent all Evangelicals, or to have the only legitimate Evangelical opinion on the issue of immigration. Quite the contrary — I understand too well that many Evangelical leaders have sometimes embraced an "open borders" position without considering the consequences for the nation.

The good news is that many of these Evangelical leaders are reachable. After all, Libertarianism, with its libertine social ethic and beggar-your-neighbor economics, is incompatible with Christianity. It has only made inroads because the very liberal social agenda of the U.S. federal courts have made conservative Christians dislike their national government. Libertarianism is the proverbial wolf in sheep's clothing and must be knocked down. Evangelicals, when confronted with a few basic facts, are generally soon ready to acknowledge the need for national protections, borders, and immigration controls.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They respond especially well to concerns that today's high level of immigration is causing a "brain drain" of educated people from the countries that can least afford to lose them. Also, in private, most Evangelicals are willing to own up to their discomfort with the large wave of non-Christian immigration, especially that of Muslims. They fear a "Balkanization" of the country. They support the English language and rapid acculturation and are the deadly enemies of multiculturalism.

Progress at EIR

Since EIR is not a membership organization, progress is not at all easy to judge. However, we are having significant opportunities.

For example, in April, 1998, I was asked to testify before the House Immigration Committee on behalf of EIR. The subject was the Wolf-Specter religious freedom bill then pending in Congress. The legislation as introduced threatened to bring in hundreds of thousands of new asylees claiming religious persecution. The problem was that the bill did not require them to prove that they personally had been molested; only that they were members of a persecuted faith. That would, for example, qualify all of China's 50 million Christians for immediate entry to the U.S.

Let me also give our readers this extended example of a discussion about ethics from the Evangelical viewpoint that illustrates the usefulness of coming forward with such an organization as EIR.

The St. Joseph Dayworker Center

This summer a trustee of the St. Joseph Dayworker Center, a charitable religious institution, contacted me through my Evangelicals for Immigration Reform site on the world wide web (www.eir.org). The trustee informed me that his center provided shelter for immigrant workers awaiting day jobs. While they waited, the center provided counseling and English lessons. Yet the board of directors was troubled, he wrote, because they understood that many of their clients are illegal immigrants. What was their religious and ethical obligation in this case, he asked. Their board was soon to undertake a planning retreat and he needed input.

I responded in writing to indicate that the issue in my view seems to be: does the illegal status of the shelter's clients make it wrong to exert any effort to help them? The issue is complex and not subject to truisms and can be divided into the following questions.

Is it legitimate for Christians to support the vigorous enforcement of immigration laws?

Many believers are troubled by this. They believe that Christ's general command that we take the part of the weak and defenseless ends the conversation before it begins. True, it is unthinkable for a Christian to harm "the least of these" because it might somehow pay us to do so. Nor are we even allowed the option of ignoring the weak. Christ made clear that he does pay attention to our acts of mercy. So, I applauded the efforts of the Center to help these humble people. Waiting outside in the rain and cold for someone to come by and offer work must be a hard life.

"The legislation as introduced threatened to bring in hundreds of thousands of asylees claiming religious persecution."

However, as both Catholic and Protestant teaching agrees, poverty does not trump law. St. Paul exhorts the faithful to "obey the emperor" (Romans 13). Jesus advised paying taxes, so it seems that a synthesis of New Testament teachings directs us to help the stranger but not break the law. As Christians, we could only justify breaking the law if that law is deemed grossly immoral.

Are the laws against illegal immigration immoral?

If a poor man approaches another man with a knife, his poverty does not give him license to steal the latter's wallet. This is even more true if the victim is also poor. When it comes to day laborers, it seems to me that there is more than one group of poor involved. What of the day workers who are *legal* immigrants, struggling to eke out a living in a labor market that takes advantage of their lack of education, English skills, and organizing capability. Illegal immigrants could be seen as stealing jobs which should be going to the working poor who are legal residents. Very often illegal aliens are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pope Urges Amnesty for Illegal Immigrants

VATICAN CITY, October 10, 1998

Pope John Paul yesterday urged a world amnesty for illegal immigrants in the year 2000, denouncing what he said was growing xenophobia.

"Almost everywhere today there is a tendency to close frontiers and return to rigorous controls," he told participants at a world congress on the issue at the Vatican. "Migration is spoken of more than before and always in alarmist tones," he said.

— Associated Press

competing not with middle class "Anglo" workers but with other immigrants like themselves — except that the other group followed the rules of entry.

At other times it is the American Blacks that are being displaced. I can remember that here in my own area near Washington, D.C., maids in hotels were exclusively black women. Today they are Hispanic women, many of them undocumented. Is it safe to assume that all the black women are now working in higher-end jobs? I don't think so. While many African-Americans have moved up in the workforce, others have been forced down in the past several decades. Should we not feel compassion for those who have been toiling away on this continent for four centuries now, often with no pay at all.

The first duty of government is to protect its citizens, especially the weak. The hundreds of thousands of new illegal workers entering this country annually makes life more difficult for our poor by overcrowding our inner-city schools, stretching thin our social welfare resources, making it more difficult for our poor citizens to get decent housing, and, finally, competing with our most vulnerable in low-wage occupations and depressing wages. As the Supreme Court has ruled, the purpose of immigration laws is to protect American workers. I believe our laws against illegal immigration are *moral* and necessary.

Should centers like St. Joseph help people regardless of their legal status?

This is by far the trickiest question. The answer is not easy. I certainly do not believe that a group should make it a mission to help illegal immigrants evade the law. No active role should be taken in encouraging illegals to stay. To do so would put the group at odds with EIR's interpretation of Christian teaching. Certainly one's spiritual life could be imperiled by giving the false impression that the illegal action does not matter.

On the other hand, the center is not an arm of the government. There seems to be no ethical mandate to turn people away, to check I.D. papers, to inform on illegals. Offering shelter and English lessons for workers is an appropriate service. But there are some steps to be taken that honor both a Christian mission of mercy and one's Christian duty to honor the law and its enforcers.

How can respect for law be shown in such a mission of mercy?

A surprising number of illegal immigrants are basically stuck in the United States. They are not happy here. They would return home if they could. Since they are illegal, they might have a hard time getting out (no passports, etc.). A center like St. Joseph could post a large sign in Spanish saying something like, "Homesick? No way to get home? Ask us for help!"

It would also be helpful to have a simple, non-threatening sign posted that affirms the center's double commitment to helpfulness along with obedience to the law: "We are here to serve everyone regardless of legal status. We will not ask you for papers. However, we want you to know we support the laws of the United States. We hope any who are not legally in the country will either regularize your status or allow us to help you return home."

Certainly, such an institution as the St. Joseph Dayworker Center should not interfere with efforts of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to check workers there for documentation.

Summary

I am hopeful that the opportunity to open up dialogue among Evangelical Christians will lead to a realization on the part of many that immigration reform — taking a new look at the numbers —is very compatible with Christian teaching and will turn out to be of greater service to the greater number of our citizens. We invite comments, questions and open dialogue to www.eir.org. TSC

NOTE

[1] All scripture quotes are taken from the New International Version of the Bible.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Liberal Protestant View of the Refugee Issue

Book/Study Guide review by Roy Beck

Protestant churches have a long and deep-seated tradition of leaving the bulk of organized Bible study and the support of "missions" to the distaff side of the congregation. Each year the liberal Protestant bureaucracy puts out three studies to be used by women's groups across the country.

These are the official studies for mainline Protestantism for the year. To facilitate leadership for the program there are regional training sessions that occur in the late spring and summer. In the late summer "schools" are organized at the state level. Finally, in late fall, winter and spring, people who have trained in earlier schools bring the studies into local congregations.

Uprooted! Refugees and Forced Migrants
by Elizabeth G. Ferris
New York: Friendship Press
120 pages, $9.45

This cooperative program has been going on for decades among women's groups in Presbyterian, United Church of Christ, Episcopal, Lutheran and Disciples — but especially United Methodist — churches. Such a sustained effort at education each year about a particular country, a spiritual topic or book of the Bible, and a selected social issue has had a tremendous influence on the thinking of mainline Protestants.

***Roy Beck** is Washington Editor of* The Social Contract *and an active youth worker in the Mount Olivet United Methodist Church in Arlington, Virginia. Between 1980 and 1987 he was the most honored journalist in the United Methodist Church for his work as Associate Editor of the* United Methodist Reporter, *a large-circulation national journal. He is the author of* The Case Against Immigration: The Moral, Economic, Social and Environmental Reasons to Cut Back Immigration to Traditional Levels *(W. W. Norton & Co., 1996) His website address is www.NumbersUSA.com.*

Some books written for these studies are better than others. It is not uncommon for the writer to come from deep within the national religious bureaucracy and heavily reflect the biases of that bureaucracy.

The social issue topic for the 1998-1999 program-year is refugees, for which Elizabeth Ferris was commissioned to prepare a study book. The result is *Uprooted! Refugees and Forced Migrants.* Dr. Ferris is a Quaker who serves as director of the immigration and refugee program of the National Council of Churches. She earlier was an officer in the refugee department of the World Council of Churches.

As a portrait of the awesome challenges posed by mass refugee movements around the globe, this book does the job. But people encountering this topic in their own congregations should be very careful. The book is not what it first seems. It achieves a level of legitimacy with a lot of accurate material about world-wide refugee flows and with surprisingly candid notes about weaknesses of the current U.S. refugee resettlement system and some of the ethical questions raised by those weaknesses.

Yet when the book — and the Leader's Guide — get around to what church members should do, the results suggest either intellectual sloppiness or outright intellectual dishonesty.

Intellectual Bait and Switch

The first page of the book sets up a classic intellectual bait and switch:

> *This is a book about people who are forced to leave their homes, their communities, their countries. It is not about people who take a job in another land because travel is broadening or people who migrate because they want a better life for their children.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

That is an excellent description of what this book should have been. But when the author writes about what church members should do, she goes far beyond political action for refugees and includes all immigrants, the vast majority of whom come to the United States for a better economic life — the very people she said were *not* the subject.

The point of the book isn't about international refugees after all. It is about the agenda of denominational Washington lobbying offices to fight all efforts to reduce immigration, and even to fight most efforts to combat illegal immigration.

The study dresses up in the heart-tugging stories of refugees fleeing for their lives. But its primary purpose appears to be to rally American Christians to protect the current high flows of non-refugees coming for economic purposes.

Intimidation Against Open Discussion

It might be difficult for church members to feel comfortable raising questions about the book's conclusions because of the way all critics seem to be lumped in with the "backlash against immigrants and political scapegoating of foreigners" first mentioned on page 2 and repeated throughout the book.

This is intimidation against the very discussion of the ethics of complex public policy issues one would hope such a study was designed to foster.

Readers are repeatedly warned of "immigrant bashers" who would seek to change current refugee and immigration policies. And readers are put on guard against people in their own congregations who might question the conclusions of the book:

> *The fact remains that the current pervasive anti-immigrant backlash also exists in our churches. There is much hard work to be done in our congregations in the areas of education and the raising of awareness about refugee and immigration issues.*

Certainly it is possible that some members of our churches are motivated by bigotry and ignorance. But when the book fails to make it clear that there also are honest critics of the historically high immigration volume of today, it smears all disagreeing Christians as bigoted and ignorant.

The book gives no historical context by which to understand that Americans may be currently questioning immigration because the numbers have gone so much higher than traditionally was the case. The annual average of U.S. immigration before 1965 was around 230,000. Today it is running around 1 million (not counting illegal aliens). The author takes no note of this. Rather, any concern about immigration is assumed to be racially motivated.

Candor About Refugee Policy

The absolute defense of U.S. refugee resettlement policy in the end of the book does not match the weight of evidence earlier in the book that reveals a U.S. refugee resettlement program that fails the people most in need of assistance.

Traditional international norms have called for a country to bring in only the limited number of refugees who face danger from rivals in the refugee camps or who, for political reasons, have almost no chance of ever being allowed to return home. Ferris points out that U.S. policy violates these norms by filling refugee slots primarily with people who "are not refugees in a normal sense." Although they may face economic hard times and perhaps social discrimination, they do not face death or persecution in their home countries. The process often becomes outlandish as people get on refugee waiting lists and, after being notified they can come to America as a refugee, choose to stay in their home country for a few more years until a more convenient time to move.

The author also notes that the U.S. system favors previous refugees' relatives over refugees in real danger.

> *What, for example, is more important — to bring in the mother of adult refugees who miss her, or a person who is living somewhere under a death threat? While you can make a good argument for the protection case, in practice it is really tough to tell the refugee in your office or congregation that his or her mother is not a priority and that other refugees are in greater need of resettlement.*

That points precisely to the problem of basing broad public policy on emotional individual contacts instead of careful analysis of overall need. The book recommends that churches expose more Americans to resettled refugees so that as they learn to like those individuals they will drop their opposition to the current program.

But what about the millions of refugees in camps around the world with whom Americans cannot have a personal contact? Nearly all of those

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people will never have a chance to be resettled in a rich country like the United States. As the author states, "No country wants refugees." The reasons are many. Their presence in large numbers in both rich and poor countries often unsettles labor markets, depresses wages, drains social services, creates social tensions, damages environmental resources and shifts political balances. In some cases, refugees throw whole regions into political instability and contribute to new wars.

Thus it is highly unlikely that wealthy nations will ever take — as a combined total — much more than 1 percent of the world's uprooted. Although American local churches tend to spend most of their resources and time on such resettlement, the only hope for perhaps 99 percent of refugees is in compassionate care while in camps in neighboring countries and in going home.

"[Barbara] Jordan and her commission responded to problems ...but the reform was killed in Congress [by a church campaign]."

The more cynical reader may wonder if some of the motivation for this strange imbalance lies in a desire to preserve large church bureaucracies that were set up after the Vietnam War to handle what was supposed to be a short-term program for refugee resettlement.

Antagonism Toward Reform

Uprooted! Refugees and Forced Migrants consistently castigates recent efforts to reform the U.S. refugee program. It never lets the reader in on the identity of the apparently hard-hearted reformers. The main reform that church lobbyists killed in 1996 was proposed by a blue-ribbon federal commission appointed by leaders of both parties in Congress and by President Clinton. The chair was the late Barbara Jordan, a respected lawmaker from Texas.

I was one of 20-some witnesses who sat around a large table with the commission to discuss refugee policy during its deliberations. I heard the representative of the State Department explain that more than half the people coming into the United States as refugees are not refugees under any international standard. I heard the representative of the United Nations say that even most of the "real" refugees the United States resettles are not the ones with "special needs" for whom resettlement is designed. UN refugee officials feel that the U.S. refugee program often causes more harm than good by resettling refugees who don't have special needs and thereby enticing many other refugees to refuse to resettle in their home country and enticing still other people to risk their lives by needlessly leaving their country in the belief that by so doing they may get a chance at "coming to America." I heard a major refugee proponent tell the commission that the refugee program was corrupted and was in danger of losing public support if not fixed.

Jordan and her commission responded to all those problems — problems noted in the early part of this book — by proposing reform legislation.

But the reform was killed in Congress. How it was killed is described (accurately, I believe) in this book. The author describes a Refugee Protection Campaign established by the mainline Protestant lobbies. Although she never identifies the reforms with Barbara Jordan, it was this Campaign that mobilized a massive network of local churches and their activists to defeat Jordan's reforms. The author admiringly tells how the Campaign persuaded thousands of churches which had sponsored refugees in the past to introduce refugees to their Members of Congress and appeal for killing the reforms.

The churches' Campaign was successful. It protected a refugee program that continues to be filled with non-refugees. It also helped persuade Congress to vote against what the book calls "Draconian cuts in legal immigration." In fact, though, Barbara Jordan pushed for cuts down to a level that would have been more than double the traditional U.S. average. The cuts would have come primarily by ending family chain-migration which Jordan identified as undercutting the economic opportunity for those most vulnerable of American workers.

How much more stimulating this book would have been if it had laid out the opposing positions of the church lobbies and of Barbara Jordan's commission and allowed the reader to compare the ethical implications of each. Instead, everybody who

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agreed with Jordan seems to be put into the category of scapegoaters, racists and immigrant bashers.

A Few More Specifics

On page 8, Ms. Ferris castigates the U.S. government for stopping the flow of illegal aliens from a repressive government in Haiti. But she doesn't mention that the full force of the American military was used after that to topple that government and establish democracy there. Re-settling refugees could have helped only the small percentage that escaped. Helping establish democracy benefitted everybody on that unfortunate island.

Chapter 3 offers a richly textured case study of the refugee situation in Rwanda. It is well worth reading and discussing.

On page 70, the author states that "it is much harder to blame or scapegoat immigrants once you get to know them." This points again to a fatal flaw throughout the book. The author always assumes that criticism of an immigration policy is based on hostility toward individual immigrants. But if the volume of immigrants is causing economic disparity, environmental damage and social disruptions, it really doesn't matter if you think the individuals are nice people; the problems still remain. Public policy decisions have to be made on broad analysis and not on popularity contests.

"The principle that immigrant citizens or residents should be able to reunite with family members still living abroad has been a bedrock [of U.S. immigration policies]," the book states on page 73. Actually, that principle has been in effect only since the 1950s. Traditionally, immigrants have been accepted as individuals or as nuclear families. It is the addition of extended family members to the immigration policy that has created the chain migration that has helped quadruple immigration numbers.

On page 74, the author attempts another of her efforts to attribute as many racist qualities to the American people as possible. She refers to American anger against illegal aliens from Mexico and Central America while there is "little public outcry in the United States about the estimated 50 percent of illegal immigrants from countries such as Ireland, Italy and Canada, who overstay their visas." In fact, all of the major reform groups working to stop illegal immigration place high priority on workplace verification systems designed especially to discourage the visa overstayers and on aggressive deportation of the overstayers. What the author doesn't mention is that the church lobbies that she favors have fought tools like the ones proposed by the Jordan Commission to identify visa overstayers.

Session 4 of the Leader's Guide is filled with inaccurate and misleading tests, skits and other material. A supposed test on "fact and Fancy" is mainly fancy. For example, it claims that immigrants pay more in taxes than they cost governments.

"The author always assumes that criticism of an immigration policy is based on hostility toward individual immigrants."

However, the National Academy of Sciences just last year concluded that the average immigrant — because of significantly lower earnings than the average American native and, thus, much lower taxes — requires hundreds of dollars a year more in government services than paid in.

The danger of such a strong dismissal as mine of this book is that it might suggest disagreement with two very important points. The book is right to call on Christians to examine our hearts and actions and be certain that we are not inadvertently blocking refugees already in the United States from attending our churches. And the book properly calls us to look beyond the comfort of our own lives to consider the tragedies of millions of uprooted people around the world.

But the book fails to focus our attentions on those millions overseas. Nor does it paint an honest portrait of the plight of resettled refugees in our own country who — according to multiple studies — are held back in their economic and social assimilation into America by the arrival each year of another million foreign workers and their families through the non-refugee immigration program that this book and the church lobbyists so vigorously defend. TSC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Liberal's Re-thinking

Speech before a Maine Unitarian congregation

by Jonette Christian

There is a Chinese proverb that says, "If you continue to go in the direction you are going, then you will end up where you are headed." This is a talk about population and immigration — two subjects which have been generally stonewalled in the media [along with] where we are headed as a nation. My comments will focus on the arguments of political liberals who have largely dismissed any national debate about population and immigration. A central theme in this discussion will be ethics and whether the direction we are headed is promoting our traditional liberal values.

Many liberals believe that any conversation about reducing immigration is motivated by racism or xenophobia. If you hold such views, I ask that you set these opinions aside for the next 45 minutes and be open to another point of view. Two years ago, I did not have the views I have today. However, as I began to educate myself, I realized that you couldn't always shoot from your "good liberal hip" and arrive at an ethical stand. These issues are far more complex than they initially appear. Having good intentions is not enough; you must know precisely how these good intentions play out in people's lives and where they lead us. The yardstick which measures the integrity of our choices today lies in the quality of life we bequeath to our descendants, and in the example of responsible self-government we set for other nations.

America is long overdue in making a plan to stabilize its population. We consume more natural resources and produce more pollution on a per capita basis than any nation in the world. The failure to stabilize our own numbers is unethical. In order to stabilize our growth, we must reduce immigration — bring it back to the numbers that we have traditionally had in this country before Congress changed the laws and brought upon us today's massive immigration.

* * * * *

Let me be clear that this is a talk about what is wrong with immigration laws and where they are leading us. It is not a talk about what is wrong with immigrants. Our present immigration laws were written in response to a collection of special interests looking to feather their own nests, and Congress never considered the long-range impact of these laws on American society. The American people were never consulted when these laws were written and nearly all intelligent debate about these laws has been glibly dismissed with accusations of racism and xenophobia.

I was born into a family of devout political liberals. Today, my family includes immigrants from Central America and Mexico. In 1964, my family gave a great sigh of relief that Barry Goldwater hadn't gotten into the White House. We were confident because our kind of people were in command — America's "best and brightest," the Ivy League elite of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations who crafted our Vietnam policy. By 1965 we were bombing North Vietnam. We weren't happy about this development, but the overwhelming majority of us liberals stood shoulder to shoulder with LBJ in 1965. It was a matter of principles, of being true to whom we thought we were, and we knew our intentions were good.

In 1965, I went off to college. I came to the conclusion that this war was nothing like what the media was presenting to the American people — that it was absolutely wrong for us to be there and that all the moralistic talk about our "global responsibilities" was baloney. I went home to tell my parents, devout Adlai Stevenson liberals, what I had learned. We were a political family and I was excited by my discovery. But as I began to explain the situation to my parents, one of them a college professor, surprisingly, I hit a brick wall. Nothing

---

***Jonette Christian** is a member of a Unitarian Church in Maine. She gave a speech to members of her congregation a few months ago, portions of which we have excerpted for our readers.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

went in. They were convinced that they held the high moral ground. Their reasoning was intuitively obvious, from their point of view, and they didn't need any new information. They really didn't appreciate how little they understood the situation.

"America is sometimes infatuated with the idea that we are here to save the world."

The anti-war movement had a defining impact on my life, launching a lifelong interest in world issues, and particularly concerning the problems of poverty and under-development in Third World nations. After taking a minor in Latin American studies, I worked for an organization committed to ending hunger, and eventually taught a three-hour briefing on that subject. Three years ago, I began to focus on population. Today, I believe that over-population is the most serious problem facing mankind. Until world growth stabilizes, we cannot possibly handle any of our pressing issues concerning the environment, human rights, or hunger. But the most important lessons about human arrogance and good intentions gone astray were learned back in 1965 while arguing with two of the most intelligent and caring people I know: my parents.

First, I learned that there is no substitute for doing your own homework on any issue because sometimes one's own kind of people, no matter how smart they are, are dead wrong. Secondly, America is sometimes infatuated with the idea that we are here to save the world, and this infatuation with ourselves as the world's savior has prevented us from seeing the real situation. In her book, *The March of Folly*, Barbara Tuchman says about Vietnam: "No one could ever plead ignorance; all the information was there. Our folly was in our refusal to face the facts." That refusal, of course, led to enormous suffering for both the Vietnamese and us. Finally, I learned from my own parents, in some situations there is nothing more sanctimonious nor close-minded than a devout liberal who is convinced of the moral superiority of his own opinion.

* * * * *

Do we have "global solutions" to over population as the liberals like to think? The most successful global solution today is the Montreal Protocol. Under this treaty, nations set targets to limit their ozone-destroying pollution. But the legislation and the debate about how those targets would be reached were determined within and by each nation, individually. Likewise, population stabilization will be an in-house conversation. The way this issue would be handled in a country like Pakistan would most likely be very different from the way it is handled in Mexico. Each culture must find its own solutions. Stabilization will not be possible if cultures with astronomical growth rates are allowed to send their poor and unemployed citizens into the labor markets of other nations. Importing [labor from] Third World countries will only postpone the solutions and incapacitate Americans as we struggle to control corporate power within our own borders.

Liberals often argue that we have a moral obligation to "share the wealth" with poor people. Usually the people who are most enthusiastic about this generosity are not in fact those who are making the sacrifice. Inner city Black Americans who watch their jobs and wages tumble with the arrival of immigrants willing to work for almost nothing are the ones who end up "sharing the wealth." In reality, taking in immigrants in order to spread the wealth is a game plan for universal poverty. It makes a few people very rich and some people very sanctimonious. Here again the numbers tell the story. The world grew by 83 million last year — 98 percent of that growth coming from poor countries, and we accepted one million legal immigrants. It's a crummy little gesture. What does this do for poverty in the Third World? Practically nothing. It buys off a little guilt, and that's it. Promoting the idea that migration can save people is a disastrous hoax. Poverty in Third World nations must be solved within those nations. Every nation must put its own house in order.

Now let's talk about America. We have a population of 269 million and we add about 2.7 million people a year and at least 60 percent of this growth is due to immigrants and their children. According to the *Christian Science Monitor*, America is presently accepting more immigrants than all other nations combined. When people tell me that America should be generous to foreigners, I ask them if they have any idea how generous we have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

been. Our generosity in giving jobs and welfare benefits to foreigners is breathtaking any way you look at it. The point is, immigration is driving our population growth and forcing America to grow into a densely populated country of nearly half a billion people. If we continue at the rate of growth that we have averaged in this decade, we will double our own population in about 60 years.

Can anyone imagine all of America's cities being double their present size? Can you imagine America with twice as many houses, twice as many cars, twice as many schools and prisons, twice as many freeways, and far less land to grow food? Is this the future we want to give to our children and grandchildren? Is there anything about this future that is ethical, compassionate, or wise?

Will this policy promote civic cohesion or tolerance for our ethnic differences? Are we confident that we can overcome these negative feelings that there are too many immigrants by simply introducing more programs which "teach tolerance" or more conversations about racism?

America exports $40 billion dollars in grain to countries who cannot feed themselves. Historically, we have been the world's primary source of food during famine. What are the ethical implications of allowing our population to grow beyond the point that we can share food with others?

America is 4.7 percent of the world's population, but we consume 23 percent of the natural resources and produce 23 percent of the pollution destroying the biosphere. In 1950, our entire economy might have run on domestic supplies of oil. By allowing our population to expand, we are now required to import 60 percent of our petroleum and we must invest $265 billion in defense, which is largely to protect our interest in foreign resources. As we grow more populous, we grow more aggressive and more vulnerable, and we consume a much bigger share of the world's wealth. How can we possibly sign treaties to limit our carbon emissions at the same time that we promote massive growth [through immigration]?

Increasing numbers of well-educated and talented immigrants from foreign countries are forsaking the problems in their own countries in order to enter the American labor market. What are the ethical implications when we rob poor countries of their most talented citizens? These are the people most capable of solving the problem in their native land.

When American universities fill their affirmative action quotas by hiring talented foreigners, what are the social implications for less advantaged native-born American Blacks and Indians for whom affirmative action was originally intended?

When we allow American companies to give high-paying jobs to foreign applicants, what are the ethical implications [in light of] our responsibility to plan for the employment of our own people? In a world where labor is unlimited, do we have a responsibility to protect the labor market for our own children? Our children will not find jobs in those countries from which we have received many immigrants.

It is well documented that the arrival of foreign workers is flattening the wages and job prospects of unskilled American workers, especially for Blacks and ethnic minorities, making it increasingly difficult for these groups to free themselves from poverty. What are the ethical implications of favoring the immigrant over the native-born? Who has a greater right to expect that job in America?

What are the implications of allowing countries with authoritarian governments dominated by the wealthy elite to send their poor and unemployed into the American labor market? Would Americans tolerate the idea of sending our welfare recipients into Canada as a way of unburdening ourselves of responsibility for our poorest citizens? Do we have a responsibility to hold other nations to the same standard that we hold for ourselves?

What are the global implications of promoting the idea that migration is a solution to national problems and personal problems? Where would South Africa be if Nelson Mandela had decided to cut and run?

George Washington used the word "posterity" nine times in one speech. After signing the Declaration of Independence, John Adams wrote to his wife, Abigail: "I do not know what will be the outcome of this. We may pay a very high price. But it is certain that posterity will profit from our sacrifice." Our founding fathers were men who thought deeply and wisely about the choices before them in the 18th century, and the impact those choices would have on the lives of their descendants. Today, we are the lucky beneficiaries of that wisdom. Surely, we owe our own descendants no less. TSC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Religion and Politics in Canada: A Brief Overview

by Mark Wegierski

Like many other phenomena, Christianity in Canada is significantly different from Christianity in the U.S. Notably, there is virtually no putatively right-wing Christian presence, either evangelical Protestant or traditional Catholic provenance. Although an overwhelming majority of Canadians are nominal Christians, this masks a massive and thoroughgoing secularization of society in general, combined with an excessive valorization of religious minorities (such as Muslims, Sikhs, and practitioners of aboriginal nature-rites). Canadian society, however, is so thoroughly secular that references to religious pluralism or diversity are a comparatively minor aspect of multiculturalism.

Probably the most debate is generated over whether certain Islamic practices that many liberals are "uneasy" about (notably, female circumcision) can be accepted as lawful by Canadian society. One religious debate was over the insistence of Sikhs to wear their turbans and carry their ceremonial daggers everywhere, since it is said to be an integral part of their religion. Sikh insistence led to the turban being allowed as part of a variant official uniform of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, a long-established symbol of Canada — an issue which raised much acrimony.

There has also been a controversy over the requirement to remove all headgear when entering Royal Canadian Legion Halls. Contrary to Canadian media reporting, no Sikh *veteran* is barred from entering the Halls; the rule would generally be enforced only against large groups of non-veterans who were seen as "barging in." Admittedly, the requirement to remove headgear *was* upheld by the Royal Canadian Legion as a symbol of resistance to multiculturalism, raising the question as to whether there is in fact *anything* (in this case, respect for the war-dead) that the Canadian majority can require newcomers to conform to.

As a result of multiculturalism, the two remaining publicly approved Christian holidays, Christmas and Easter, have largely been banned from meaningful civic expression in large metropolitan centers. For example, the phrase "Season's Greetings" replaces "Merry Christmas" in nearly all public signs; "Christmas cake," "Christmas specials," etc., are now designated "festive cake," "festive specials," etc. The number of religious-themed Christmas cards available in most stores is noticeably dwindling. Christian manifestations of Christmas are not permitted in many workplaces, especially in government offices, and certainly not in the public education system where Christian manifestations are impermissible the year around. Canada has adopted an ultra-expansive definition of "separation of Church and State," seeking to expunge all vestiges of Christianity from "the public square" — but at the same time, it clearly lacks what in the U.S. could be seen as a vibrant and extensive "Christian counter-culture."

Unlike the United States, there has been, for a long time, publicly funded Catholic primary and secondary schooling in Canada, but the current trend is toward unification of schooling into single public systems. (Education in Canada is under the jurisdiction of the provinces, not of the federal government.) It may be argued that the receipt of public funds for Catholic primary, secondary, and post-secondary schooling has ironically weakened Catholic content in those institutions, making their secularization all but irresistible.

Religious conflict between Catholicism (which traditionally meant French), and Protestantism (which traditionally meant English), is a major part of Canada's past, but only a minor aspect of the current scene. The curious persistence of some of this animosity in a society undergoing massive transformation is exploited by some shrewd politicians who are in reality indifferent or hostile to religion.

***Mark Wegierski** is a Toronto-based writer and historian. He is a frequent contributor to* The Social Contract.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For example, one of the reasons behind the election of Liberal David Peterson as premier of Ontario in 1985 was that part of the core Protestant support for the Progressive Conservative (or Tory) party disapproved of the extension of public funding to Catholic secondary schools by the earlier Tory premier, Bill Davis, a professed "moderate." Some even thought he did this shortly before leaving office to ensure the defeat of his more right-wing Tory successor, Frank Miller. Ironically, the extension of the funding eventually turned out to be a kind of "poison pill" for the Catholic system, opening it to even further secularization, i.e. requiring it to downplay religious teaching and to hire non-Catholic and non-Christian teachers.

The so-called mainline Protestants in Canada are not quite as denominationally fragmented as in the U.S. There are, among others, the Anglicans (called Episcopalians in the U.S.), the Presbyterians, and the uniquely Canadian phenomenon of the United Church (a union of Congregationalists, Methodists, and some Presbyterians). All of the mainline denominations, including Catholics, are characterized by a sizeable gap between the church leaders who, in most cases, take the most left-liberal interpretations possible of Christian thought, and the congregants who attend church for reasons of tradition and a desire for religious uplift, largely eschewing the radical politics pushed from above. The leaders of the various mainline churches, consisting not only of priests and ministers, but also of a surprisingly large number of "lay activists," are not only the main opinion-forming elite of the various denominations, but also exercise tight control over comparatively large financial resources which are typically used to lobby for left-wing causes. The evangelical fundamentalist branches of Christianity in Canada (fairly small in number, but gaining in strength) may be characterized as generally apolitical. There is no massive political mobilization comparable to that of the Christian Coalition in the U.S.

The few right-wing aspects of Christian religion in Canada, apart from the general tendency of some congregations in virtually all denominations to be socially conservative, may be identified as follows:

- the residue of French Quebec's once very deep Roman Catholic tradition and faith;
- traditionalist residues in the Catholic church outside Quebec, especially in the "white ethnic" parishes (e.g., Poles, Ukrainians, Italians);
- certain residues in nominally Catholic institutions of higher learning (post-secondary Catholic institutions receive public funding. Unlike the U.S.,there are no major private Catholic colleges in Canada);
- small traditionalist groups in the Catholic church, notably Opus Dei (vastly weaker in Canada than in the U.S.), Tradition, Family, and Property (T.F.P.), and the Oratorian Order (the most prominent rivals to the almost-invariably left-wing Jesuits today);
- the recently established, Ottawa-based, Centre for Renewal in Public Policy, a highly prestigious, mildly traditionalist and Christian, public-policy and research institute;
- a few very committed activists of national prominence, such as the Rev. Ken Campbell;
- a relatively significant anti-abortion movement, with some high-profile supporters, including some Canadian MPs and Senators (one of the main publications of its Catholic wing is the fairly credible monthly, *The Interim*);
- a small, marginal Christian Heritage Party, representing an explicit political focus for Christian traditionalists;
- some residues of the Social Credit party, especially in Quebec (distributes a newsletter in French and English called *Michael Journal* across various parts of Canada);
- a small, breakaway Anglican Traditionalist Church;
- a number of fundamentalist Protestant educational enclaves, notably Trinity Western University (Langley, British Columbia), the only prominent, entirely private, denominational college in Canada. (It may be noted that there are probably hundreds of such institutions of higher learning in the U.S.);
- Western Canada's right-leaning newsmagazine, *Alberta Report* (which appears in British Columbia as *B.C. Report*, and in Saskatchewan and Manitoba as *Western Report*), which often

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

takes stances that are derived from right-wing interpretations of Christian thought.

The left-liberal aspects of Christianity in Canada are massive, overwhelming, and easily discernible. The policies officially formulated by the various mainline denominations vis-à-vis many issues of public policy encompass the most left-liberal interpretations possible of Christian thought. The embrace of massive dissimilar immigration along with an undifferentiated mass of all of "the poor" are commandments. In terms of relations with the Third World, the prevalent dogma appears to be "they are poor, because we are rich" — avoiding entirely the question of overpopulation, and the grotesque misallocation of resources by corrupt regimes. The only criticisms that are made are of the few regimes that can be identified as explicitly right wing. (In the 1980s, Chile, El Salvador, and Guatemala — and, of course, South Africa — were particular bête noires, and many Canadian churches actively worked with the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, demonizing the Contras.) Among Christian missionary and aid work, the prevalent tone, rather than encouraging what Christopher Lasch has called "a discipline against resentment," is to inflame the feelings of Third World populations — "you are poor because the West is rich." The churches cleave to an ultra-universalism that would have probably been rejected by the most ardent Christians before the 1960s.

In regard to domestic social policy, the churches no longer dare to suggest that there could be a moral distinction between those who are poor through no fault of their own, and those who are in fact harmful vagrants or vagabonds. And, rather than emphasizing the importance of voluntary charity, the churches advocate ever-increasing taxation of "the rich," and an ever-more extensive welfare state, which they perceive as being under a savage and entirely unwarranted attack by "neoconservative ideologues."

Concurrently, Christianity in Canada has been in hasty retreat on the social and moral issues that are often seen as its hallmark and raison d'être — the United Church now, for example, accepts lesbians as ministers.

Christianity in Canada today seems to offer very little to young people, to consciously conservative persons, or to the few young conservative persons who might be searching for a coherent alternative to left-liberalism. It does not even fulfill its possible role as a meeting place for more socially conservative young people. Evangelical Protestants are probably most adept at doing so.

Intellectually and socially, the prestige of the churches is very low, especially in the mainline denominations which tend to attract the most mediocre, second-rate sorts of persons into their leadership positions — shallow activists who opt for work in the churches as a "second-best career" to one in the media, education or the civil service. In a situation which is the exact opposite of what occurred in the days of the later Roman Empire, it is not the most intellectually acute men who flee to the Church from the State, but rather the dullards, the second-raters, who flood into leadership posts in the churches.

So it seems that the chances of any dynamic intellectual, cultural, or social counter-tendencies to the prevalent left-liberalism in Canada arising from the matrix of organized Christian religion and its official policy-formulating bodies, are extremely low. There exists a slightly greater chance that some traditionalist activists at the margins of their official churches, or the leaders of small, evangelical congregations, will have some impact in introducing certain aspects of social conservatism into mainstream Canadian political parties, especially within the Reform Party of Canada.

The variants of social conservatism espoused by even the most traditional Christians in Canada, however, are unlikely to include a desire for major restrictions on immigration, and are (for obvious reasons) even less likely to embrace the promotion of serious measures to combat overpopulation in the Third World. As is probably also the case in the United States, the impetus for bringing immigration, population, and ecological issues to the fore will have to be generated from other sectors and matrices of "the broad-based reform coalition" — notably, "the new nationalists," the so-called right-wing Greens, perspicacious paleoconservative theorists, and the scientific and social-scientific thinkers.

It may be concluded that the issue of a future for Christianity in the West is one as deeply troubled as the future of the West itself. TSC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Joe Occhipinti Interview

The Social Contract talks with a hero (and victim) of America's battle with alien organized crime

by Kevin Jenks

The Social Contract engaged Kevin Jenks to interview Joseph Occhipinti who currently heads the National Police Defense Foundation. Occhipinti has spent twenty-two years as a decorated investigator for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) but that career came to an end when he found himself the victim of America's climate of wariness about the civil rights of minorities as they are being used by organized criminal aliens.

KEVIN JENKS: *Joe, you are one of the most highly decorated investigators in the history of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Can you tell us a little about your career and duties with the INS?*

JOSEPH OCCHIPINTI: As the chief of the INS's Anti-Smuggling Unit in New York City, I was primarily responsible for investigating international crime syndicates. From 1978 until 1991, when I left the Immigration Service, I conducted hundreds of criminal investigations into a variety of ethnic crime syndicates that resulted in hundreds of convictions and the seizure of millions of dollars of contraband. For example, I spearheaded Project Hester, the investigation of the Asian smuggling group behind the bringing in of the *Golden Venture* in 1995. I led investigations into suspected Middle East terrorist groups, as well as into such international crime syndicates as the Colombian drug cartel, Dominican organized crime, the Jamaican posses, and Asian youth gangs.

KJ: *How significant is alien-generated crime in the United States today?*

JO: It's a well-established fact that we've lost control of our borders. Not only are organized crime syndicates exploiting this to enter illegally, but known terrorist groups are also coming here. If you're a big crime lord looking to expand your operations, the U.S. is the perfect place to come.

Today ninety percent of organized crime activity in the United States is being generated by international crime syndicates. Yet the government is targeting only traditional Italian organized crime — which has been largely dismantled. Why aren't these other organized crime groups being targeted? Because it's politically incorrect — the government fears that investigating alien crime syndicates will be labeled as "racially motivated."

To illustrate the point, if you were to call up the Department of Justice to find out their priorities for the Organized Crime Strike Force [a program within the DOJ to target crime syndicates], you would see from these that they're not targeting the Third World ethnic organized crime groups. They're still targeting the Italian crime families, which, as I've said, have been effectively dismantled.

KJ: *You yourself began your career in law enforcement working on Italian organized crime...*

JO: Yes, I started my career as an agent of the U.S. Customs Service, and because I spoke the Sicilian dialect fluently, I was assigned to Italian organized crime and various wire taps.

KJ: *How successful were you, and the Anti-Smuggling Unit, against alien crime?*

JO: We were very successful in targeting alien crime. I realized in the course of my career that using my half-dozen agents just to go in after an illegal alien in a factory was a waste of time. So I used my resources to target the crime syndicates. I went after the big guys, and for the first time INS was actively involved in major criminal investigations, and the statistics will show we were making criminal cases under the RICO, or criminal racketeering, law: for

---

***Kevin Jenks** is a free lance writer and a long-time resident of California.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

drug violations; on terrorist charges; for alien smuggling. We also broke up rings that specialized in kidnaping, smuggling, money laundering and other racketeering activity.

KJ: *What sort of backing were you getting from the higher-ups in the INS?*

JO: My investigations from 1980 to about 1989 were very well received by INS. I was beginning to find that INS headquarters was very receptive to my targeting the crime syndicates. INS headquarters began to use the results of my investigations to get increased budgeting. My cases were being sold to Congress to support increased enforcement financing.

When I took over as head of the Anti-Smuggling Unit in 1984, there was somewhat of a hesitancy on the part of my superiors regarding targeting the alien syndicates. But for five or six years there were no major problems — we had never been sued, and we were getting favorable media publicity. For example, when I broke the Wells Fargo case in Project Square Badge, in which I got the entire Wells Fargo security force at Kennedy Airport indicted, prosecuted and convicted for involvement in alien smuggling and a variety of other criminal violations, INS got a great deal of favorable publicity.

I had the support of my superiors, we were making tremendous inroads against international criminals operating on the streets of America, and we were building a record for increased budgeting. By that time I had received three Attorney General awards, the highest honor the Department of Justice confers.

KJ: *Yet there were problems within the INS regarding enforcement even then...*

JO: I realized early in the game that there was never a commitment for immigration enforcement. For example, in New York, where we know there are several million illegal aliens, they gave me a unit that had no more than seven agents. How could you target, in New York City, illegal immigration and the smuggling of illegal aliens with only seven agents? If you looked at my budget, there were occasions, at the end of the fiscal year, when we didn't have enough money to buy gasoline. I would have to give my agents subway tokens to conduct investigations. There were instances almost every day when we would apprehend criminal aliens and have no jail space for them. We'd have to simply give them a pass and hope that they'd "self-surrender" in the future.

KJ: *How did enforcement rate in the INS as opposed to other priorities?*

JO: One of the operating problems in the INS is that there are two types of management set-ups: in the cities, there is a district office set-up, and in the

You don't find any finer enforcement agents, in my opinion, than the U.S. border patrol and the anti-smuggling agents that are assigned to the traditional Mexican and Canadian border missions."

border areas, a chief patrol agent, who is in charge of the anti-smuggling programs and the Border Patrol. You don't find any finer enforcement agents, in my opinion, than the U.S. Border Patrol and the anti-smuggling agents that are assigned to the traditional Mexican and Canadian border missions.

But when you get into the bigger cities like New York and Chicago, there is no Border Patrol presence. The investigations unit is only one of several different departments that report to the district director. The district director has to wear several hats. He's in charge of citizenship; he's in charge of enforcement, or investigations; he's in charge of examinations; and he's in charge of detention and deportation. What that means is that the district director has several other priorities on which his or her raises, bonuses, and career are contingent — and, unfortunately, investigation and enforcement have been the lowest priorities for district directors.

By the early 1980's the district director was not only putting more emphasis on the service-oriented programs, such as citizenship, but was being pressured to take trained INS criminal investigators and re-assign them as naturalization examiners and detention officers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KJ: *Was this just in New York or throughout the country?*

JO: I believe that this took place in many offices, but especially in New York. Men and women who went into INS to be law enforcement officers found themselves working as examiners, in citizenship.

The INS's inadequate budget created other problems as well.

For example, when I made a major smuggling bust — say I arrested thirty Mexicans that had been smuggled into the United States for prostitution and I was able to convince the U.S. attorney to prosecute the smuggler — in order to make that prosecution case a viable one, I'd have to keep the witnesses in the United States. What would happen was that the U.S. attorney would tell me, "I need those thirty witnesses here to testify." But when I would go back to the district director and tell him, "We have a prosecution of a major smuggler. I have to hold these thirty witnesses for the next six months," the district director would explode, because he didn't have the money to detain these people. So the district director would tell the U.S. attorney, "Sorry, but we're deporting these people next week" — and the charges against the smuggler would be immediately dismissed.

So there were many instances in which viable criminal prosecutions were not made because the district director couldn't accommodate immigration law enforcement necessities, and because more priority and emphasis was being put on INS service functions.

KJ: *What recourse did you have?*

JO: To show how serious things had become: in 1987, as chief of the Anti-Smuggling Unit, I filed a civil suit against the district director of Immigration in New York City. I charged him with not allowing my unit to conduct investigations against the alien crime syndicates.

As an example, we were attempting to make a case on Project Hester. We knew that smugglers were bringing in Chinese nationals, many of whom they were charging up to $30,000 to come to America, through JFK Airport. Now, JFK Airport was worked by the INS district office's inspections unit, and for almost a year and a half the Anti-Smuggling Unit had been under a directive prohibiting us from operating at Kennedy Airport. That meant that if an inspector encountered a smuggling operation, he was prevented from notifying us to come out, conduct an independent investigation, and develop a case. In most cases, the smuggler went unprosecuted and was allowed to engaged in future criminal activities.

KJ: *Many Americans are unaware that INS investigators can and do work together with other U.S. law enforcement agents — federal, state and local — to investigate and apprehend criminals. How did your work with other agencies go?*

JO: For the most part we had a great working relationship with law enforcement. But there were normal interagency rivalries and increasing problems related to political intervention and concern for alleged civil rights violations.

To give you an example of how things worked: in the late 1980s I was assigned to Project Redeye, which was a Washington-initiated investigation to target smuggling operations at major transportation centers across the country.

To use INS's unique ability to interview aliens and to arrest aliens that might be in violation of the law, I decided to concentrate my efforts on criminal alien drug couriers. Most of the drug cartels use illegal aliens to do the actual carrying of drugs. For example, in New York City, from Washington Heights, where Dominican organized crime is based, they send drug couriers, every day, through the bus terminals, the train stations, the airports to major cities across the country.

I approached the chief of the criminal division at the Southern District of New York, David Lawrence. I told Lawrence, who had been supportive of me in the past, that we wanted to work with him on Operation Redeye. In fact we had already started and were responsible for many drug seizures and arrests.

KJ: *What was his reaction?*

JO: Lawrence agreed. He asked me if I could put together a task force from the various law enforcement groups to participate in Redeye. His goal was to triple federal drug convictions in New York, particularly in the Southern District. I told him I thought I could do it, with his support, and if he

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

assigned certain U.S. attorneys to the task force.

At a conference with the representatives of the several agencies involved, my superior, Walter Connery, and I explained that our statutory authority as INS agents is to target whoever we believe is an illegal alien. Several of the attorneys had problems with that. They were concerned that our interviewing of Hispanics, Blacks, and Asians would not look good.

I tried to explain that as immigration officers we can't go out seeking to arrest U.S. citizens. We can't stop Americans in business suits, just to make it look politically correct — we could be sued. Our role is to target aliens that are in violation of federal law.

"...we were making significant seizures, and almost immediately the U.S. attorney's office backed away from it, out of concern for the racial overtones."

I said, "If you're concerned about this 'profile,' then maybe you should give INS agents deputy U.S. marshal status, or Drug Enforcement Administration authority, to take away the Immigration restriction on us and enable us to make stops of U.S. citizens." In essence, what they wanted us to do was to stop twenty people in order to show that ten of them were native-born American whites and dispel the impression we were focusing on minorities. They were unwilling to give us DEA status, because the DEA opposed that, and at that point my supervisor said, out of legal reservations, "I think we have to back away."

Once we pulled out of Operation Redeye, the other organizations did, too. Here is an illustration of a legitimate operation — Operation Redeye — where we were making significant seizures, and almost immediately the U.S. attorney's office backed away from it, out of concern for the racial overtones. I was later told that Mr. Lawrence, who authorized my own prosecution, was upset at me because of the failure of the operation.

KJ: *There is a seeming paradox in your career: You had good rapport with the immigrant and minority communities in which you worked, you speak fluent Spanish — yet you were convicted and sent to prison for civil rights violations. How did that happen?*

JO: Let's go back to 1990. At that time I was targeting a convicted Dominican drug lord named Then, Freddie Antonio Then, who is currently a federal fugitive for drug trafficking based on my arrest. We had determined that Freddie Then had been the intended victim of a drug ripoff that resulted in the fatal shooting of NYPD officer Michael Buczek in Washington Heights, in northern Manhattan, on October 18, 1988. It was my goal to flip, or turn around, Freddie Then, and get him to testify against Daniel Mirambeaux, who killed Officer Buczek after he attempted to apprehend Mirambeaux and his accomplices.

I knew that in order to do this I had to put enough pressure on Freddie Then to put him in a situation where he would want to cooperate. Detectives at the 34th Precinct, which I was working out of, provided me with a list of bodegas, or small groceries, as well as travel agencies that they believed belonged to Freddie Then, and were involved in his drug trafficking activity. This, as well as other intelligence we had gathered from confidential operations, was the genesis of Operation Bodega.

KJ: *What were you able to find?*

JO: When we searched these businesses, after obtaining permission, we found various sorts of contraband connected with drug trafficking, money laundering, and other illegal enterprises. Freddie Then came in voluntarily, and allowed us to search his home; both he and his wife had committed immigration violations, and he admitted to owning an illegal weapon we found at his store, as well as employing illegal aliens. Meanwhile, we discovered the leases to several drug houses he owned. A month into the operation, we discovered $136,000 bundled with invoices showing it was to be sent to Sea Crest Trading Corporation, a licensed Greenwich, Connecticut money lending institution. That money was later ordered forfeited by the courts as drug money.

KJ: *And soon afterward you began to encounter pressure...*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JO: Complaints began coming in from *bodega* owners who were members of something called the Federation of Dominican Merchants and Industrialists, which according to the New York Police Department is the front for the Dominican drug cartel. It is believed that the Federation gave substantial monetary support to the campaign of David Dinkins, who was elected mayor of New York City later that year. In addition, the Federation was reported to have generated large numbers of votes which were critical to Dinkins's election over Rudy Giuliani. Many of these votes were reportedly cast illegally by impostors and by non-U.S. citizens. After his election, Dinkins explicitly prohibited INS agents from access to voter registration records, which could have identified illegal aliens.

"I was the first law enforcement agent ever tried and convicted on federal civil rights charges for unlawful search and seizure."

KJ: *Didn't Dinkins claim that you and your fellow officers were working to disrupt the 1990 census?*

JO: They called Project Bodega a "Republican conspiracy" to sabotage the census, and immediately after that I became the subject of an investigation by the Justice Department.

KJ: *What were the charges brought against you?*

JO: I was the first law enforcement agent ever tried and convicted on federal civil rights charges for unlawful search and seizure. I wasn't accused of brutality, or even of using ethnic slurs. The accusation was that I had made several searches before obtaining the consent of the shopkeepers, which doesn't make much sense — why would they have signed the consent-to-search form after I had found the illegal contraband?

What needs to be understood is that in every other case alleged search and seizure violations are handled administratively, not criminally, as in my case. It was never the intent of Congress that an officer be prosecuted for good faith search and seizure.

KJ: *Were any other officers or agents participating in Project Bodega charged?*

JO: No, I was the only agent charged out of over fifty police and federal agents who carried out searches in Project Bodega. I certainly carried out my searches in the presence of other officers at all times. Later, the agents involved were interviewed by the U.S. Attorney, and every one of them stated that my searches had been lawful, that I had obtained consent to search in advance. I should point out, by the way, that I was cleared by two independent federal investigations: one by the Office of the Inspector General, and another by the Regional Director of Immigration. Note too that I was convicted of conspiracy — without any co-conspirator ever being charged!

KJ: *Many readers will no doubt wonder — despite all the political pressure for open borders and for "civil rights" — how a federal agent with seventy-six official commendations could have been so railroaded.*

JO: I believe that there were the political and civil rights pressures in New York City, a situation the Dominican cartel was able to exploit to the fullest. For example, my trial judge was Constance Baker Motley, a longtime political associate of Dinkins; my prosecutor was Jeh Johnson, with whom I had actually worked against Freddie Then — he turned out to have close family connections with Motley.

I think, too, that my case was sold to the Department of Justice as the case of a dirty cop. Why? Because several of the *bodega* owners claimed that I took money from them.

KJ: *Haven't you spent a fair amount of your career aggressively targeting bribery operations?*

JO: Yes, I spent nearly five years undercover posing as a corrupt agent working together with the FBI and the Organized Crime Strike Force in operations that convicted dozens of Dominican criminals. And from the start of Operation Bodega, I was working very closely with the FBI and other law enforcement authorities to report and prosecute any bribery attempts.

KJ: *In any case, were you not acquitted of any such charge,*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when it turned out you actually had vouchered in more money than the shopkeepers accused you of taking?

JO: That's correct.

KJ: *Did you have a fair trial?*

JO: No. To make a long story short, I was able to discover that the *bodega* owners who were accusing me had lied to the grand jury about their criminal records — but that fact was excluded. (They were also caught on tape by a team from the TV show *Inside Edition* engaging in exactly the illegal activities they had denied under oath.) My attorney suffered a nervous breakdown that was evident in court — and Judge Motley refused me leave to get another attorney. Later, the jury foreman in my trial told an interviewer from the National Television Empowerment Network that the jury had misunderstood the law and believed that INS officers were not empowered to seize drugs. The Justice Department dismissed that fact as "irrelevant." The point is that INS agents can make arrests and seizures for drug violations.

KJ: *After you were convicted, and then sent to prison, there was a great outpouring of support for you — from politicians like the Molinaris and Congressman Jim Traficant, from journalists like Mike McAlary, a Pulitzer Prize winner, from entertainers like Jackie Mason, to black civil rights leaders like Roy Innis and Betty Neale of the Ministers of Harlem, just to name a few — that helped result in your being granted clemency by President George Bush in January 1993. Why did it take so long for your support to crystallize?*

JO: First, it's not true that I didn't have support from the beginning. Men and women in law enforcement, such as Jim Fox of the FBI and John Dowd from the DEA believed very strongly in my innocence. (It's worth mentioning here that the FBI never conducted my investigation as required by law. According to an article on my case that appeared in *Spy* magazine, a high-ranking Justice Department official revealed that the FBI was prevented from carrying out the investigation because federal prosecutors thought they would "lie" for me!) Then I had a number of leaders from the Hispanic community, such as Angel Nunez, of the National Hispanic Coalition, and Robert Calderin, president of the Somos Unos Foundation, come forward to help me, often at great personal risk. One of them, Miguel de Dios, a Hispanic journalist who made it his mission to expose the Dominican and Colombian drug cartels, was assassinated shortly after he had produced evidence that I had been targeted by the cartels, and had agreed to testify about it before Congress.

Second, Judge Motley had imposed a gag order on me from the time of my indictment in 1991 until I was scheduled to surrender for incarceration in a minimum security prison in Kentucky. When I went public on Jackie Mason's show in June 1992, Judge Motley canceled the minimum-security arrangement, and ordered me to be taken into immediate custody by the U.S. Marshals, transported in shackles to a maximum security penitentiary in Oklahoma, where I was slated to be put into the general population and assigned a cell with a Dominican drug pusher.

"We come to the defense of police officers who may have been unjustly prosecuted, as well as providing counseling to disabled law enforcement officers."

KJ: *Fortunately for you, your family, and those of us concerned about immigration reform, you came through it. Although your federal career is over, you are still very actively involved in the field of law enforcement, are you not?*

JO: Now I devote a hundred percent of my time in developing the National Police Defense Foundation, which has become one of the largest police foundations in the country, recognized by the IRS, with over 100,000 members. We come to the defense of police officers who may have been unjustly prosecuted, as well as providing counseling to disabled law enforcement officers. In addition, we post awards for information leading to the arrest of anyone who shoots a police officer. We also initiated Operation Kids, which provides free, disposable fingerprint kits for parents — over the years it's been my concern to prevent the victimization of our

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

children.

KJ: *In recent weeks, newspapers such as the* New York Times *and the Hackensack, NJ* Record *have run big stories on how the Dominican drug cartels are spreading across the Northeast, and money laundering by the cartels is growing at an appalling rate. Less than a year ago, the book* Wild Cowboys *vindicated you and your story. How does all this make you feel?*

"The INS has built up a data base containing the identities of hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens with outstanding warrants for arrest and deportation... Yet the Attorney General has ordered that the FBI not input this data into the National Crime Identification Computer."

JO: I foresaw everything predicted in the *New York Times* story years ago. I spent much of my career in immigration enforcement combating the Dominican cartels: I earned two of my three Department of Justice awards for making cases against Dominican organized crime — one of them resulted in the biggest seizure of cocaine up to that point in U.S. history, the other resulted in the seizure of millions of dollars worth of fraudulent immigration documents.

I'm no longer bitter over the way things worked out with my career. My work with the National Police Defense Foundation allows me to continue to speak out, to testify, and to work on the problem of alien organized crime — I supplied the *Times* with information for their story. The fact, however, that the federal government still has no task force targeting Dominican organized crime should be the subject of a Congressional hearing.

KJ: *What should be done to make the INS more effective in carrying out its mission of securing our borders and fighting alien crime?*

JO: The reorganization of the INS and the transfer of its non-enforcement units to other federal agencies is critical in winning the war against illegal immigration. INS inspection and enforcement functions must be consolidated with its sister border agency, U.S. Customs, under the auspices of the traditionally well-funded U.S. Department of the Treasury.

KJ: *What do you think can be done that's not being done now to target alien crime directly?*

JO: There are many criminal statutes in the U.S. Code that could act as a deterrent to immigration violators. Unfortunately, U.S. attorneys give the prosecution of INS violations the lowest priority. In fact, when INS Special Agents arrest immigrant violators for such offenses as smuggling, counterfeiting, visa fraud, etc., they present them with a written declination of prosecution prepared in advance. I recommend that the Attorney General direct all U.S. attorneys, for a one year period, to prosecute all criminal violators of our immigration laws. Effective criminal prosecution would seriously reduce illegal immigration and bring respect to INS laws.

KJ: *Is it true that the records of fugitives from the INS, many of them criminals, are withheld from other American law agencies?*

JO: The INS has built up a data base containing the identities of hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens with outstanding warrants for arrest and deportation. Many of these deportation warrants are based upon criminal convictions for felony drug and violent crimes. Yet the Attorney General has ordered that the FBI not input this data into the National Crime Identification Computer. The purported reason is that only INS officials can detain, arrest, and deport illegal aliens. The real reason is that there is a lack of detention space and of INS officials to handle the expected apprehensions of these alien fugitives.

KJ: *What do you think of the practice of using private security firms to carry out various duties of the INS?*

JO: The new immigration service must immediately terminate subcontracting their lawful duties to private security firms. In 1988 I spearheaded an investigation into a private security force from Wells

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fargo that had been hired by the air carriers at Kennedy Airport to assure that detainees they had brought in would appear for their hearings and later be deported, if necessary. Our investigation, which resulted in convictions of the Wells Fargo officers for alien smuggling and other crimes, verified that approximately 75 percent of excludable and deportable aliens were never deported. INS continues to sub-contract out its lawful obligations to private security firms — and today we continue to experience the same alien smuggling activity and alien abuses from INS security contractors. I believe that the Bureau of Prisons should assume custody of illegal aliens.

KJ: *Certain airlines and steamship lines have been lax in complying with their statutory duties in controlling immigration. What should be done to bring them into compliance?*

JO: INS has the statutory authority to levy substantial fines against air carriers and steamship lines that fail to take precautionary measures to stop illegal immigration. INS has identified numerous carriers suspected of being involved in alien smuggling activity. Similar violations of U.S. Customs or Drug Enforcement Administration statutes would have resulted in the immediate seizure of ships and aircraft: I recommend that INS effectively use their seizure laws to change the attitudes of certain carriers. For example, during the Wells Fargo investigation, over one million dollars in fines were never levied against the airlines.

KJ: *Do you have any enforcement recommendations for regaining control of our borders — and by now our interior — by containing illegal immigration?*

JO: It's a federal misdemeanor under Title 8, United States Code, Section 1325 for an alien to enter the United states without inspection. There is now a blanket declination of prosecution under this statute. During the 1970s numerous judicial districts along the Mexican border prosecuted entry without inspection (EWI) violators, generally sentencing them to six months in a work camp. Intelligence showed that this practice resulted in a decrease of smuggling within those jurisdictions. I urge that the Attorney General reinstate the policy of prosecuting EWI violators, and also that the pursuit of INS related-prosecutions be prioritized.

Second, it used to be a federal misdemeanor for an alien to fail to register annually with the INS. That statute was later removed from the U.S. Code for no good reason. It continues to be a misdemeanor for an alien not to notify INS within ten days of his change of address or to fail to carry his immigration registration documents. During my tenure with INS, I used these laws to arrest and convict over a hundred criminal alien drug couriers and terrorists. Strict enforcement of these laws, and reinstatement of the registration statute, would be a very effective weapon against alien organized crime and terrorism.

Finally, the key for successful law enforcement and crime prevention is the deployment of a uniformed patrol force which acts as a deterrent for crime. In major cities like New York, where there are an estimated two million illegal aliens, the physical presence of a uniformed Border Patrol force would be a strong and visible deterrent. Its mere deployment and liaison with metropolitan police departments, the courts and the prison system would result in the apprehension of many thousands of illegal aliens.

KJ: *Do you have any regrets about your career?*

JO: I can look back in retrospect and say to myself, "I had a great twenty-two years." I loved every minute of law enforcement, and in my own heart I know I made a difference. I helped a lot of victims. I've come to realize that, after posing a viable threat to the Dominican drug cartel, I'm fortunate to have come through it all with my life and my family intact.

KJ: *You're still working to overturn your unjust conviction. How can persons wishing to help one of the most decorated enforcement agents in U.S. Immigration history convince our government to do the decent thing?*

JO: I am applying for a full presidential pardon from President Clinton. Anyone wishing to write on my behalf should address a letter of support to Attorney General Janet Reno and send it to P.O. Box 318, Englishtown, NJ 07726. I would also strongly encourage readers to contact their legislators to request congressional hearings on the operations of ethnic organized crime in the United States. TSC

[*Persons wishing to learn more about the National Police Defense Foundation can write to 1422 "K" Street, NW, Washington, DC 20005, or call 1-800-556-0597.*]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Immigration's Impact on Education, Multiculturalism

Reflections by the author of 'Alien Nation'

by Peter Brimelow

[*Editor's note: The Foundation Endowment supports programs relating to education and culture. At a recent Foundation Endowment conference on "The Multiculturalist Revolution: Lessons Our Children Learn" held at Windsor Castle, Peter Brimelow delivered a speech which we are pleased to reprint in The Social Contract. The Foundation Endowment can be reached at 611 Cameron Street, Alexandria, VA, 22314, Phone: (703) 683-1077, Fax: (703) 683-1272, E-mail: tfe@laser,net.*]

There are three caveats to this subject that I would like to start with.

The first is that, although I am a senior editor at *Forbes* magazine, my views on this subject of immigration are my own and in particular don't reflect the views of Steve Forbes, who as you all must realize is already running full time for President. He, in fact, thinks the direct opposite. He would go to open borders if he could. There's a very serious servant problem in the horse country of northern New Jersey where they have their estate.

And I'm actually not joking about this. Immigration, you know, above all else in the U.S., is a class issue. You can't show that it benefits the native born in aggregate — that is the consensus among economists who've studied the issue, a somewhat surprising consensus which I'll discuss in a minute. You can't show it benefits the native born in aggregate, but you can show that it makes substantial redistribution between the different classes of the native born, maybe two to three percent of GDP transferred from labor to capital. In other words, the people who are hurt by immigration are typically blue collar workers and I believe particularly the blacks in America. The people who've benefitted are the owners of capital and the upper-middle class, and this determines the course of the debate.

I used to make this crack about Steve and his estate out in Far Hills when I was on the road with my book three years ago. One of the things they do at *Forbes* is every year they have a party for what they call the veterans — these are people who've been here more than five years. They all go out to Malcolm's old house and admire his motorbike, which is enshrined in his bedroom in a big lucite box — this is true — and you get fed lasagna on paper plates and things like that. It reminds me very much of the tenants' ball — my great-grandparents were tenant farmers, and on rent day they used to have a ball for the tenants and that's what it is like.

I was out there two years ago at this thing and a big man approached me with an open shirt, a huge fellow, and he asked me was I Peter Brimelow and I cautiously admitted that I was. He said, "Oh good, because when I realized you were coming I went back to get your book," and he produced a copy of *Alien Nation*, a hardback copy, and he wanted me to sign it. He was a worker on Steve's estate, so this is an amazing thing. He's a man who's an estate worker, very concerned about immigration into his country, and here is Steve, on the other hand — and Steve's a very fine fellow I must hasten to add — completely on the other side of the question. He's in favor of endless amounts of immigration. He just won't focus on the issue.

The second caveat I would make is that this is a new issue, immigration. It's an issue which didn't exist in the U.S. prior to the 1965 Immigration Act. Between the 1920s and the 1960s there was a period when there was almost no immigration at all into the U.S., one of many such periods, incidentally, extending right back into the colonial period. Immigration has not been continuous in American

---

***Peter Brimelow** is a senior editor at* Forbes *magazine and the author of* Alien Nation: Common Sense About America's Immigration Disaster.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

history, and that's actually what's helped assimilation: these periodic pauses.

Anyway, because this issue didn't exist before the late 1960s, most of the people who are currently in positions of authority in politics and journalism and so on, were mature adults — well, at least *adults* — before the issue really took hold. Most people are not capable of grasping new ideas after they're about 21 or so, some people not at all, of course! And a lot of them are just not up to speed on this question.

"...anybody who says anything about immigration policy is going to be denounced as a racist and a xenophobe and a bigot and all these good things."

For example, Reed Larson must be familiar with this: I've often had people say to me, "Well, immigrants are a good thing because they undermine the labor unions." And in some sense that's true, although I think the evidence is that the more recent Hispanic immigration has gone very ardently pro-union. But even if it were true, that's like saying we've got rats in the house so we are going to burn it down — the house is worth more than exterminating the rats in this instance.

Many Americans are still in the stage of saying immigrants are fine people. Americans are very nice to immigrants. I can testify about that having immigrated myself and I agree with them on that. Immigrants often *are* fine people. I mean, look at me, what would *Forbes* do without me? I think I'm worth at least half a balloon, maybe the hot air! But that doesn't alter the aggregate question of whether the post 1965 immigrant flow is good for the U.S. or not.

And the third caveat I want to make is that, of course, as you all realize, it's a law of American political life that anybody who says anything about immigration policy is going to be denounced as a racist and a xenophobe and a bigot and all these good things. The people who are in favor of current immigration policy have been able to suppress debate on this topic for 30 years with these charges, and they intend to go on doing it. But you know *The Wall Street Journal* is always telling us that immigrants do dirty jobs that the natives won't do, and here I am!

Three Essentials Points About Immigration

Now I'm going to make three central points about immigration today, three important points. The first is that it is an extremely big deal, immigration. Occasionally you get people who argue it is not big by historical terms and standards. It is. There are about 1 million legal immigrants a year and there are maybe 300-500,000 illegal immigrants net a year. That is to say, there are perhaps 3 million people crossing to the southern border every year and out of those the stock of illegals in the country rises by about 300-500,000 a year. These are large numbers by historical terms. But they're exceptionally large compared to the birth rate of the native-born American population, which is the way a demographer would look at it.

In the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, when we last saw these very large numbers, the native-born Americans were reproducing themselves at a fantastic pace, and that kind of swamped the immigrant impact. But in this century, right now, native born Americans of all races have brought family sizes down to the point where the Census Bureau says the population is stabilizing — we're stabilized at about 270 million, absent immigration. But the government is second-guessing the American people on population size because of its immigration policy. As a result of this, by 2050 the Census Bureau says the population will not be 270 odd million, it will be 400 million, and of those people 130 million will be post-1970 immigrants and their descendants.

This is an awfully big pig for the python to swallow. And it may be larger than that. The high series projection of the Census Bureau is over 500 million people because of immigration.

The second point I want to make about immigration policy is that it *is* a policy. It is determined by what the government does. The U.S. does not have open borders. It isn't a question that people just come in because they feel like it. The government determines the policies and specifically

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the 1965 Immigration Act, which kicked off this mass immigration again after a long lull. It is determinative as to the numbers who come in, which are much larger than anybody expected. It is determinative as to the skills, and because of the paradoxical way the policy works, the skill levels are much lower than they have been historically. For the first time we see an immigrant wave which is unbalanced, on aggregate less skilled than the native born. That's never happened before in American history. And finally it is determinative as to the ethnicity.

In effect, what the 1965 policy did was it suppressed immigration from the traditional areas in Europe and Canada, and it opened immigration to the Third World, or more specifically, to about half a dozen countries in the Third World (not even the largest countries in the Third World, incidentally). I mean some of them are places like Trinidad and so on — Jamaica, particularly — which have relatively small populations. About a third of all Jamaicans in the world now live in the U.S. About 90 percent of all the inflow since 1970 has been non-European.

This is having a very dramatic effect because the demographic impact is so large and because the immigration is so exclusively non-white. The ethnic balance of the country is shifting very quickly. And, in fact, by 2050 the Census Bureau projects that the white population in the U.S., which was nine-tenths of the population in 1960, will be down to about 50 percent. The Census Bureau declines to say when it's going to go below 50 percent, they're too frightened to say that, but they have been saying this for some time.

When I raise this question in meetings and so on, people are often quite shocked and horrified, even though I'm only quoting government figures they think it's a terrible thing to raise. On the other hand, when the immigration enthusiasts are in a confident mood, they raise it themselves in a triumphalist way. They're in a confident mood right now. The President just recently gave a speech at Portland State University, weekend before last I believe, and he said in this speech exactly what I've just told you, that after 2050 there will be no majority race in the U.S. — a demographic transformation unprecedented in the history of the world.

And because it is unprecedented, I think that it's not incumbent on those of us who are concerned about this to explain why we're concerned about it. All we're asking is why would we want to alter the situation that exists at the moment. It's incumbent on the people who are in *favor* of this to say why they want to alter the U.S. as it exists at present, to alter it so profoundly and irreversibly.

Now, the third point I want to make about immigration I alluded to earlier. That is, that it has essentially no economic value for the native born,

"It's incumbent on the people who are in favor of [there being no majority race by the year 2050] to say why they want to alter the U.S. as it exists at present, to alter it so profoundly and irreversibly."

largely because it is so heavily unskilled. This may be shocking to some of you to hear this, but in fact it's the consensus among academic economists. It was confirmed last year by the National Academy of Science which put out a study called "The New Americans." They estimated that the benefit to the native born of having nearly 10 percent of the workforce foreigners was maybe $1-10 billion; in the context of a $7 trillion economy, it's nugatory, it's insignificant.

At the same time there was a significant welfare loss through transfer payments. In other words, the native born are paying taxes which go to support the immigrant population in various ways, and this is quite large — it's about $35 billion a year. In some states it's extremely large, it's very unevenly spread. For example, the NAS estimated that every native-born family in California is spending $1,000 extra *per year* in taxes because of the enormous immigrant presence in that state.

It could be different, incidentally. Immigration could make more of a contribution to the native born, if the immigrants were more skilled. But they're not, because the government policy is not selecting skilled immigrants — it's not set up to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

select skilled immigrants.

Some of you will be surprised to hear this, and you'll be asking yourselves "How come I've not read this in *The Wall Street Journal*?" The answer is, you didn't read it in *The Wall Street Journal* because *The Wall Street Journal* did not publish it. The editorial page made no reference to this National Academy of Science (NAS) report, which confirmed, in fact, the revolution which had taken place in economic thinking, in economic analysis of the post 1965 wave. They just suppressed it. It's like *Pravda*. Their behavior on this question was disgraceful, as is, in fact, the behavior of a lot of conservatives — people we could regard as our allies and in some cases our employers. (Is Jim Lucier here? Say hello to Grover for me.) Their behavior is scandalous and disgraceful in not grappling with the issue, and they try to suppress the issue in every way they can.

"...immigration, I believe, is a civil war within the conservative movement and it's not one that is going to be resolved peacefully."

This is a very, very big problem for the conservative movement because immigration, I believe, is a civil war within the conservative movement and it's not one that is going to be resolved peacefully.

You may ask, how did this happen? How could the U.S. embark upon a policy which is so plainly absurd? It's sort of the equivalent of thalidomide or something, it's a policy accident. Nobody expected that this was going to happen. If you look at the colloquy at the time they passed the 1965 Act, they made the most explicit promises that none of these things — the numbers, the ethnic shift, the skill level — that none of these things were going to happen. But they did happen. As typically occurs in politics, when you create a fact you also create constituencies that support it. In this case, the constituencies are business interests of one type or another who are under the impression that this is going to enable them to get cheap labor, and also of course various ethnic lobbies who basically want to build up their own ethnic faction in the U.S. So that's how it happened, and it's not going to be easy to reverse.

Immigration Linked to Education and Multiculturalism

I'm going to now link immigration to the overall subject of this conference which is education and multiculturalism.

The impact of immigration on education is very specific. One aspect of it is that it enormously increases the cost of the overall education system in the country. One of the curious things about the American education system is not so much the quality of the output, which is varied — there are some very good aspects to the American education system — but it is undeniably extremely expensive. The Americans spend far more per capita on education than any other country in the world. From an economist's point of view, that's an efficiency question. Should they be spending this much to get that output?

Well, one of the reasons they're spending so much is that educating children in foreign languages is extremely expensive. It costs nearly twice as much per head, per capita, to educate a child in a foreign language than it does to educate a native-born child in English. And in some areas, the immigrant impact is very large. I think perhaps a quarter of the kids in the California school system are actually being educated in foreign languages. In Los Angeles and New York they're educating in over 100 different languages. This is enormously expensive and is one reason for the enormous cost burden of immigration on education right now.

The second aspect of the impact of immigration on education which intrigues me is the impact of this on the native born. In other words, if you have a school system like you have in California with one-quarter of the kids in it who can't speak English, doesn't that distract the teachers from the native-born kids who do speak English? And wouldn't that show up in the performances?

Well, that's a very interesting question to which there's no answer, because nobody's doing any research on it. I actually asked Diane Ravitch, whom some of you will know is a very sensible former professor of education at Columbia, this question. I said, "Are you aware of any research of the impact of immigration on native-born children?" And she said,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"No. Not only is no research being done, but no research is going to be done on that question because nobody wants to know the answer." That is to say, the education establishment doesn't want to know the answer.

Red Larson yesterday was reading out these extraordinary resolutions that the National Education Association is always passing at its conventions. As far as I can see, and I've read them all, they've never passed anything on immigration except to say that immigrants shouldn't be discriminated against.

"...immigration is critically important to the growth of multiculturalism in the American education system."

When I was talking to the NEA, in the days that they would let me interview them, I actually asked them once why they haven't spoken up on the question of immigration. Don Cameron was there and also the previous head of the NEA, Keith Geiger, and they were astonished. They couldn't have been more amazed than if I had hit them on the head with a wet fish — it just literally never occurred to them that anybody would even raise this question. They even said the usual "Well, we're a country of immigrants," you know, the basic stupid thing that people say when they're confronted with this issue.

There are teachers who are deeply concerned about this question, and I've talked at length, for example, to Ezola Foster, whom you must know is a rebel against the CTA, the California Teachers Association, and she says that teachers who complain about the fact that their classrooms are getting swamped by foreign language-speaking children are actually punished by the NEA. The NEA actually suppresses this kind of resistance from the grassroots because of its overall political agenda.

And, finally, of course, immigration is critically important to the growth of multiculturalism in the American education system. Now, multiculturalism would exist anyway. The drive toward multiculturalism exists in every English- speaking country. It exists because there are people who don't like the majority culture in these countries and want to undermine it. And in the U.S. it particularly exists because of the African-American population which, in many ways, is almost like a fetal nation. I mean it's developing in quite different ways culturally to the rest of the population and it's a very deep-seated problem for the Americans which, as it happens, immigration is simply exacerbating because it's forcing them out of the workforce.

But of course, although multiculturalism would exist anyway, it has been enormously enhanced by the fact that we're pouring this fuel on it. We are creating these constituencies which, if given the opportunity, wish to maintain their own languages and own cultures, not out of any sort of folkloric mode but simply because they want to organize political constituencies around their language and around their ethnicity. And these constituencies are being enforced by constant immigration, further immigration.

From time to time when you're discussing immigration with people they'll say things like, "Well, all these concerns were raised before." And they often will say, "Well, Ben Franklin was worried about the immigration of Germans into Pennsylvania in the 18th century," as he was. But the point is not that Franklin was wrong, but that German immigration *stopped* in the 18th century because of the Seven Years' War and subsequently because of the Napoleonic Wars, and it didn't resume for nearly 100 years. By that time, the Germans who'd arrived in Pennsylvania had been substantially assimilated.

Some Significant Quotes

I'm going to now read to you a number of quotes from Clinton administration officials on this subject just to show how they think, how they anticipate this issue is going to work.

The first is from Doris Meisner, who is head of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. She gave a speech about three years ago to the press in which she said, "We are transforming ourselves." I mean, she openly said it. She thinks it's a good thing. It never occurs to these people that anybody would criticize it. My question of course is: did anybody ask "we"? Did anybody ask, do "we" the American people wish to be transformed?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here's Henry Cisneros, who was the Secretary of HUD. I think he's in jail now, isn't he?

> *These population dynamics will result in the browning of America, the Hispanicization of America. It's already happening and it's inescapable.*

Of course, it's not inescapable. It's a direct result of public policy; it could be stopped tomorrow. But as long as Cisneros is around, it's not going to be stopped tomorrow, and unfortunately, that's not why he went to jail.

Here is Ada Deer, who has a position in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. She was giving a speech to Ripon College and she said, in 1993:

> *Looking ahead to the next 21st Century — this is my social worker coming out in me — and that's not far off, minority racial and ethnic groups will outnumber whites for the first time. The browning of America will alter everything in society from politics and education to industry, values and culture. And as I talk with the faculty and staff here at Ripon, they're aware of this and they're helping prepare for it.*

I bet they are. What she means, incidentally, by preparing for it, is (she says) everybody in the hemisphere should speak Spanish. Of course, this is odd on its face when you think about it, because Spanish is also a European language, and a lot of the people coming from Mexico don't speak Spanish, they speak the various Mexican Indian languages. But the common thread here is: they want to destroy the majority culture in America, which is English-speaking.

Here is Donna Shalala, who is Health and Human Services Secretary:

> *My grandparents came from Lebanon. I don't really identify with the pilgrims on a personal level.*

And finally, a woman named Martha Farnsworth Riche, who was Director of Population Studies and was actually in the Census Bureau for Clinton, and she had said this before she went into the Clinton administration:

> *Without fully realizing it, we've left the time when the non-white, non-Western part of our population could be expected to assimilate to the dominant majority. In the future, the white Western majority — that's the part that used to be called American — will have to do some assimilation of its own.*

So now you know.

There is a further quotation in *Alien Nation* which I prefer, and it's from Solzhenitsyn during his Nobel Prize speech on this question. He grew up in Russia, of course. He was educated as a Communist and he was specifically taught that nations should not exist. They actually had a kind of a universal nation idea of the Soviet Union, which is very similar to the universal nation idea which some neo-conservative intellectuals are pushing now, that the Soviet Union is an idea, America is an idea, that it isn't really a nation in a traditional sense, so it has no specific ethnic content.

"...this is an attempt to transform the U.S. by deception in a way which will be profound and total and irreversible."

Solzhenitsyn threw all that off. When he gave his Nobel Prize speech, at which time, of course, the Soviet Union was still rampant, Solzhenitsyn said:

> *The disappearance of nations would impoverish us no less than if all nations were made alike, with one character, one face. Nations are the wealth of mankind. They are its generalized personalities. The smallest of them has its own particular colors and embodies a particular facet of God's design.*

Now, I think that the U.S. embodied a facet of God's design when I got there in 1970. And I'm in favor of it staying that way.

As I said earlier, if you raise this subject, you're always going to be accused of racism and so on. But there's a counter accusation to racism. In other words, this is an attempt to transform the U.S. by deception in a way which will be profound and total and irreversible. It appears to me that that is a species of treason, what is going on. I don't mean literally that these people are committing treason, of course — any more than they mean in the same warm, cuddly sense that we're racists and neo-Nazis — but I still think it's treason.

Thanks very much ladies and gentlemen. TSC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Malthus Bicentennial Essay

Stork and Squatter Victory

Population politics and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

by David Simcox

By the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo a century and half ago this year, Mexico surrendered over half of its territory to the United States. Mexico's defeat can be seen as the final, confirmatory event of an outcome determined by Anglo-American society's two centuries of prodigious population growth and vigorous westward migration.

The war with Mexico may be the most portentous for American national identity of all U.S. wars. Guadalupe Hidalgo drew more than just a political boundary line: it staked out across the shifting quake lands of this hemisphere the cultural and political limits between two great contending cultures, the Anglo- Saxon and the Ibero-American — between the world views of John Locke and Thomas Aquinas; between the religious perspectives of John Calvin and Fray Bernardo De Las Casas; and between the socio-political values of a liberal democratic communitarianism trending toward radical individualism, and a stubborn Iberian familism. Only the rash would consider the dividing line drawn in 1848 to be eternal.

With Mexico's population now growing nearly three times as fast as the United States', and with its northward migration surging, the sesquicentennial of Guadalupe Hidalgo invites reflection on the population politics and realties of both nations leading up to the American occupation and absorption of the U.S. southwest and in the aftermath.

***David Simcox** is a senior fellow at the Washington-based Center for Immigration Studies, which he served as its first executive director. He currently resides in Louisville, Kentucky, where he leads a think tank, Migration Demographics.*

Spain's new world empire had been running down during most of the 17th and 18th centuries. Its North American holdings were repeatedly threatened by the rival British, French and even Russian powers on the continent. Discomfiting portents of the destiny of Spain's provinces of Texas, New Mexico and upper California in the early 19th century were the rapid infiltration of Florida by Anglo-American settlers, and Napoleon's 1803 decision to sell the vast Louisiana territory to the United States. The Louisiana Purchase cost New Spain its western and northern buffer.

Colonial America: A Marvel and a Vindication to Malthus

The Anglo-American population early on grew used to surging westward when previously occupied lands became played out, or insufficient for growing families, or hemmed in by settlement. The small-plot, peasant agriculture that had been Europe's response to its own rural population growth, did not suit the expansive spirit of restless American farmers. At the root of land-hunger was explosive population growth. In the six decades between 1790 and 1850, America's population increased six times over and her territory three and a third times.

Thomas Malthus, in his famous 1798 essay and in the 1830 summary revision of it, saw in America's population growth "a rapidity of increase without parallel in history." He observed that in the colonial and early independence periods, the Anglo-American population doubled about every 25 years. Malthus' preconditions for rapid population growth, "food and room," were present in abundance. He attributed early America's fecundity to a plentitude of land, enlightened political and land tenure institutions, and agriculture's rewarding returns on capital.[1]

America's early population surge was, for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Malthus, vindication of his theory that

> *population increases exactly in the proportion that the two great checks to it, misery and vice, are removed, and there is not a truer criterion of the happiness and innocence of a people than the rapidity of their increase.*

By comparison, Malthus noted that while Spain and Portugal's colonies also had plenty of land, they were held back by "vice and misery" in the form of exorbitant taxes, restrictions on trade, colonial mismanagement and corruption. Spain's tragically inefficient colonial land tenure system in Mexico, based on the serf-based *encomiendas* and the debt peonage of *haciendas,* perpetuated unproductive land use and an oppressed and immobile peasantry.

Worth asking now is whether the ideology of "Manifest Destiny" in the early 19th century was an expression of the hubris of a "happy and innocent" people, or whether it was a lofty-sounding recognition of the sobering fact that continuation of U.S. population growth at the pace of that period, which would have taken the nation to 680 million by 1975, would leave no choice but expansion of the nation to the Pacific. The stork and the settler became both objects of the expansion of U.S. national power as well as instruments of it.

Colonial Mexico: A Century-long 'Sickly Season'

While America's demographic course from the first Anglo-European settlements onward was geometric growth, Mexico's population history was far more checkered — indeed tragically Malthusian. On the eve of the arrival of Cortez in 1521, what is today modern Mexico had a pre-Columbian population estimated as high as 25 million. Mexico would not return to this population level until the 20th century.

Then as now the region lacked well-watered farm land. But the intensive communal cultivation of maize in good times sustained a large population on the edge of its food supply. Famines were part of life. The corn-centered, protein-deficient diet made pellagra, rickets and other nutritional diseases a constant affliction.

Mexico's contact with European colonizers in the early 16th century ushered in what Malthus called a "sickly season," and one of the great population crashes of history. Within 75 years after Cortez's arrival, Mexico's pre-Columbian population had fallen more than 90 percent to little more than one million by the beginning of the 17th century. Blame goes to the Amerindians' lack of resistance to European and African diseases — smallpox and measles. But chronic native diseases, such as *matlazahuatl* (a form of typhus), carried off more than three million. Overwork and mistreatment by colonial masters contributed a good share of deaths. The Amerindian population entered a century-long downward spiral of disease, exhaustion and famine. Suffering and despair bred suicide, infanticide, and refusal to bear children.[2]

Mexico's holocaust was a virulent display of survival of the fittest. The more resistant European and Mestizo population managed to grow by almost 1 percent a year during the 16th century even as the Indian population plummeted. The Indians needed a century to gain immunity and their numbers began to grow again only during the 17th century (Table 1).

Even with population collapse in 1790, Mexico still had more people than the United States. The whites and Mestizos of Spanish Mexico numbered over 1.1 million, Indians 2.5 million, and Blacks and Afromestizos near 700 thousand, compared to a U.S. population in the 1790 census of 3.9 million. The total population of Spanish speakers in the 800 thousand square miles north of the Rio Grande and the Gila was a meager 50,000 to 60,000.

In a little more than twenty years after the first

Table 1. Decline of Mexico's Indian Population (in Millions) Following Conquest

Year	Population	Year	Population
1519	25.2	1595	1.4
1532	16.8	1605	1.1
1548	6.3	1625-50	1.0
1568	2.7	1793	2.5
1580	1.9	1810	2.7

Source: Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah, estimates in 1960 and 1963

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

census, the United States saw its population and territory double in size. Mexico would not double its 1790 population for another 75 years. The ravages of the wars of independence caused half a million deaths and near zero population growth between 1810 and 1830. The U.S. population grew 76 percent in the same period.

Alien microorganisms had changed the history of Mexico. What if Mexico's relatively advanced 16th century Amerindian society had the immunity and the nutrition to survive and grow over the ensuing three centuries? Would that society have filled the population vacuum in Mexico's far north? Mexico's rapid growth since 1930 because of better public health and cheap North American grain confirms that the biological potential was there.

Spain's Population Policy for Texas and the Northern Territories

While Spain supported the American war of independence, it watched the expanding Anglo-American republic warily. American squatters in Spanish Florida by 1812 would stage an unsuccessful uprising against the Crown's rule. There was no lack of Spanish Cassandras. In the late 17th century Spain began building a chain of military garrisons across east Texas from San Antonio to Nacodoches.

In 1760, Jose de Galvez, Spain's overseer in North America, saw foreign intrusions on Spain's northernmost territories as warranting a renewed colonizing effort in those lands, including the occupation of Upper California with missionaries and soldiers. As early as 1809, the Spanish governor of Durango warned that Texas was the key to Spanish control of America, and if Spain did not settle Texas, another people would. As he wrote, the first American squatter settlements were taking root in the valley of the Red River, the northeastern boundary of the empire. Peopling Texas with settlers loyal to Spanish rule was long a policy priority. But finding the congenial settlers was the sticking point.

Obsessed with the gold and plentiful Indian labor of Central Mexico, Spain had made few efforts to colonize Texas for two centuries after Cortez. The land was remote and plagued with hostile Indians. While market forces and generous government land grant policies had encouraged private migration within the United States, in Spanish Mexico there was no such prospect. The government, particularly the military, and the church were the agents of settlement.

Other than the unintended genocide of the Indians, the early population policies of the Spanish state and church were generally pronatalist. Ubiquitous promiscuity and concubinage between Spanish males and Indian women spurred the rapid growth of a Mestizo class. The church could do little to stop it, other than insist that women taken by Spaniards be first converted to Christianity. The Church and the State encouraged Spanish-Indian marriages as a way of creating stable communities while spreading Catholicism and the Spanish language. Colonial officials and clergy were less complacent about sexual relations between Spaniards and Africans, fearing it would weaken slavery. About 200,000 African slaves were brought to Mexico during the colonial period. Intermarriage or concubinage between African and Indian produced an Afromestizo population of nearly 700,000 by 1810.

"Obsessed with the gold and plentiful Indian labor of Central Mexico, Spain had made few efforts to colonize Texas for two centuries after Cortez."

Medieval medical and health practices ensured a high mortality that offset high fertility. Primitive forms of smallpox vaccination, already practiced in the United States in the 18th century, did not reach Mexico from Spain until nearly a century later. Land tenure and labor practices discouraged the mass migration of rural folk. By the early 1800s there were still only about 3000 Spanish-Mexican subjects in Texas, which Iturbide in 1821 noted ruefully had the best land in New Spain.

Spain's conquistador outlook rigidified its attitudes about population, making change difficult. The early conquistadors found wealth in gold. But they also found enrichment in Mexico's then abundant people. The *encomienda* and *hacienda* systems were essentially state-sanctioned processes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whereby the colonial elites appropriated the wealth of Indians by forced labor, heavy taxes and debt peonage. People were a resource to be mined, like the gold of Potosi.

To the Spanish, colonization did not mean sending people to establish themselves on empty lands so much as sending colonial representatives to already populous areas to organize, Christianize and exploit the locals. Florida, for example, would to other colonial powers seem to be well suited for European settlement. But Florida, like Spain's other northern holdings, offered no strong incentive to Spain, because it lacked people to dominate.[3]

Immigration of colonists was not a high priority. At most, 300,000 Spaniards migrated to Mexico during three centuries of Spanish control. Spanish nationality and catholic religion were conditions of immigration. "Nothing in Spanish society induced the migration of groups bound together by special ideological or national loyalties, such as occurred with the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay or the Germans of Pennsylvania."[4]

"The Spanish decision was a case study in the power of the elites who stand to gain from population growth to shape immigration policy at the expense of more enduring interests."

Spain's Demographic Trojan Horse

With little prospect of quickly finding enough settlers for Texas in Mexico or Europe, in 1821 Spain opted to invite in American *empresarios* (grantees) such as Moses and Stephen Austin who would bring settlers, tools and animals to colonize areas of east Texas.

Reasons vary for this risky decision. Many Spanish were convinced that the Americans would come anyhow, so it was better to have some say in the terms. Still others believed that by generous treatment of the colonists, and their conversion to Catholicism, Spain could count on their loyalty. Texas' intractable population of Apaches and Comanches had long impeded Spanish settlement, and officials believed correctly that an Anglo population would pacify them.

Also, settlement of Americans in east Texas would create profits for Mexico's gulf-coast ports. In this case, the Spanish decision was a case study in the power of the elites who stand to gain from population growth to shape immigration policy at the expense of more enduring interests.

U.S. Population Policies Toward Texas

The transfer of the Louisiana territory sharpened American covetousness toward Texas. Indeed, Jefferson had believed that the Louisiana territory extended to the Rio Grande. While the United States recognized Spain's claim to Texas in 1819, in return for its cession of Florida, Spanish colonial leaders doubted that illegal migration into Texas would cease. Repeated U.S. proposals to purchase Texas and California alarmed Spain and its Mexican successor state. This glimpse of American designs, if anything, spurred the Mexicans' search for ways to strengthen their own presence in Texas.

For the United States, then, the migration of American settlers into Texas, and subsequently much of the Southwest, with or without Mexico's assent, became an instrument of national policy. American Emissary to Mexico Joel Poinsett acknowledged this in 1825, a decade before U.S. settlers in Texas revolted, when he urged Secretary of State Henry Clay to delay in recognizing the boundaries of the new Mexican Republic:

> *Most of the good land from the Colorado to the Sabine (in east Texas) has been granted by the Province of Texas and is rapidly peopling with either grantees or squatters from the United States — a population the Mexicans will find difficult to govern.*[5]

The United States eased migration to Texas by putting no obstacle to the spread of slavery there. By stalling on recognition of Mexico's Texas frontier, the United States was also able to pressure against Mexican colonization of the disputed areas.

Mexican diplomats early on protested that American settlers were intruding on Mexican

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

territory. The U.S. response presaged Mexico's response now to similar American complaints by a century and a half: "The United States government lacks the authority to prevent its citizens from leaving its territory, unless they are doing so to attack a friendly nation."[6]

Mexican Population Perspectives: The Past Is Prologue

When Mexico gained independence in 1821, the preservation of Texas was foremost among its national security issues. Emperor Iturbide's ministers laid plans for building a loyal population by encouraging immigration from three sources considered adaptable to Mexican rule. The first was the Spanish remaining in the Louisiana territory from the 48-year period of Spanish rule there. They shared Mexico's language, culture and religion and had little fondness for American rule.

A second source was the veterans of Mexico's war for independence, who would thereby be rewarded with land for their loyalty, but kept far away from Mexico's center of power.

The third category, immigrants from Europe, gives an insight into Mexican notions about different nationalities. They preferred the Irish because they were Catholics and presumed to be opposed to either American or British rule. Lacking enough Irish, Mexico would seek German and Swiss settlers, who were both industrious and Catholic.[7]

The recommended strategy was to use Mexican settlers to populate the border areas of Texas as a first line of defense, and to increase the population of the Rio Grande valley to be a second line of defense if Texas fell. The Iturbide regime was also concerned about the dangers of under-population elsewhere in their northern realm. They feared the colonization of the two "Californias" by Asians if Mexicans failed to populate them first. Chinese and Filipinos had been arriving in modest numbers in Mexico since the 16th century on Spain's Acapulco-Manila shipping link.

Iturbide's regime lacked the resources, the time and the focus to carry out its population policies before it was overthrown. The Mexican Republic that replaced it in 1824 was more nationalistic and felt even more urgency to build barriers. The Republic closed vast stretches of its land to further colonization and created "colonist-free zones" 20 leagues deep along its land borders and ten leagues wide on its coasts, but to little avail.

In 1829 a senior Mexican official, Manuel Mier y Teran, returned from an inspection of Texas alarmed by the spread of Anglo-American culture there and the disregard for Mexican laws.

> *The Americans from the north have taken possession of practically all the eastern part of Texas, in most cases without the permission of the authorities. They immigrate constantly, finding no one to prevent them, and take possession of the place that best suits them, without either asking leave or going through any formality other than that of building their homes.*[8]

Table 2: Population Growth in Texas Before and After Guadalupe Hidalgo

Year	Population	Year	Population
1803	4,000	1870	818,700
1835	30,000	1880	1,591,700
1847	142,000	1890	2,235,500
1860	604,000	1900	3,048,700

Source: Rupert Norval Richardson, *Texas: The Lone Star State*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1943.

Mexico's response in 1830 was Draconian regulations of immigrants and colonists which, seen by Mexico as a legitimate exercise of sovereignty, were resented by the Anglo-Texans as oppressive.

The new laws barred immigrants from settling in Mexican states or territories bordering on their country of origin; banned further entry of slaves; required rigorous reporting on population and migration; and further tightened passport controls. The Mexican government further elaborated plans to populate Texas with the creation of penal colonies and more government help for its settlers there.

The changes were too late. An unstable Mexico never had the mobile population or the resources to mount serious resettlement or to enforce immigration controls. The prohibition of slavery

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

proved too provocative. Mexico had abolished slavery in 1829 and believed that the denial of slaves to prospective white settlers would stop them from coming.

With the acquiescence of Washington, Anglo-Texan settlers made a successful uprising that produced an independent Texas in 1836, followed by its annexation to the United States a decade later. The U.S. military victory in 1848 and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ratified the dismemberment of Mexico, and radically redrew the map of North America. Yet the geographic and cultural lines now seem more evanescent than a century and a half ago and the movement of peoples is as large a bilateral concern as ever.

Fearful of reabsorption by Mexico, the Republic of Texas continued to encourage the immigration of Americans and Europeans during its brief history. It sought to reduce the presence of Mexican loyalists by denying them rights to own land in the Lone Star republic's constitution of 1835. High in-migration and birthrates accordingly made Texas's population grow exponentially between independence and the turn of the 20th century. Growth stimulants were advances in cotton cultivation and economic depression and high prices for public lands in the United States in the 1830s. The U.S. Homestead Act of 1862 spurred the settlement of both American and European immigrant farmers in Texas and other western territories.

Population Policies Since Guadalupe Hidalgo

The migration of Mexicans to Texas, once longed for by Mexico City, did not begin to develop its current momentum until the late 19th century under the stimuli of new rail links and quickening population growth. In the 1880s American employers began to look to Mexico for workers when Asian migration was restricted. Some irredentist rhetoric now holds all Mexican and Mexican-Americans in the United States to be the dispossessed victims of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In reality, the total population of the ceded territories in 1848 was about 65,000 to 100,000 Mexican citizens and 200,000 tribal Indians. Less than a million of the nearly 20 million persons of Mexican origin are descendants of Mexicans resident in the territories in 1848.

Rocky relations with the United States deeply influenced Mexico's defensive population strategies. After 1848, Mexico faced ultimately successful American pressures for the Gadsden territory south of the Gila and transit rights across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, along with agitation in the U.S. Congress for the annexation of Baja California. Not surprisingly, the concept of the strategic placement and enlargement of population has loomed large ever since in Mexico's national security outlook. Mexico's present 1917 constitution banned foreign ownership of property within 120 kilometers of the border and 50 kilometers of the coast, echoing its strategy of the 1820s.

"The U.S. Homestead Act of 1862 spurred the settlement of both American and European immigrant farmers in Texas and other western territories."

Guadalupe Hidalgo gave Mexican citizens in the territories the option to remain in the United States or return to Mexico. Mexico City saw this as an opportunity to buttress its new northern border against U.S. intrusions and Indian attacks with 18 new frontier military colonies. In 1849 Mexico sent commissioners to New Mexico, California and Texas to urge its citizens to resettle on the new border with funds provided by the United States. Relatively few accepted. The country's development planning since the 1910 revolution has favored incentives from tax breaks to maquiladoras to encourage development and population growth of its northern border region.

Mexico was unambiguously pronatalist from independence until 1974, when it gave constitutional protection to family planning. Mexico in the 1850s and 1860s had also courted European immigration. But because of instability, religious intolerance, and mismanagement, the 3000 arriving annually during this period did not even match the out-migration of Mexicans to the United States.

Mexico's population growth turned sharply

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Table 3: U.S. and Mexico
Population Growth Since Guadalupe Hidalgo

Year	Mexico	United States	US-Mex Ratio
1850	7.7	23.2	3.0/1
1910	15.2	91.9	6.0/1
1930	16.6	122.8	7.4/1
1950	25.8	150.9	5.9/1
1970	48.2	203.3	4.2/1
1990	86.2	248.7	2.9/1
2000*	99.0	275.0	2.7/1
2025*	142.5	338.3	2.4/1
(* projected)			

Sources: Instituto Mexicano de Estadistica y Geografia (Mexico), Population Reference Bureau, United States Census Bureau

upward in the 1930's. Improvements in public health and education caused a "death dearth," lowering infant mortality and raising life expectancy. The death rate fell from 26.7 in 1930 to 11.3 in 1960. Mexico's population of 16.6 million in 1930 had quintupled by 1990.

The relative population sizes of the two nations have narrowed accordingly. In 1930 there were 7.4 Americans to every Mexican; in 1980, 3.3 Americans to each Mexican; and by 2000 the ratio is projected to be to 2.75 to 1 (Table 3). Mexico began making family planning assistance widely available in the 1970s. Since 1930 fertility of Mexican women has fallen from more than 7.0 to 3.1 in 1998. But the 36 percent of the population under age 15 in 1998 ensures sustained population momentum, with a population doubling time of only 38 years.

Has Mexico's government viewed population growth and migration as a means of altering the verdict of Guadalupe Hidalgo?

Some Mexican clergy, intellectuals, journalists and radical student groups boast that high numbers and high migration will produce that outcome. Yet since 1848 there have never been explicit public claims by responsible Mexican policy makers that Guadalupe Hidalgo lacks legitimacy or that Mexican immigrants have a special right to settle in the ceded territories.

Rather, Mexico's constitution and laws have tended in the past to put conditions on the emigration of its citizens, such as the requirements of pre-approved work contracts, proper travel documents and legal border crossings. The real Mexican policy may be not in those laws but in the consistent non-enforcement of them, and in proclaiming every Mexican's unconditional right to leave his country.

Mexico's diplomatic strategy for decades has been to insist that the human and labor rights of its migrants in the United States take precedence over their immigration status. Mexico City seems to recognize that proclaiming the border invalid would be most dangerous to Mexico itself.

Nevertheless, Mexican leaders relish the added clout given their diplomacy by a large population and a huge diaspora within the United States. The recent liberalization of Mexican citizenship for Mexicans resident in the United States seeks to amplify Mexico City's voice in U.S. policy. Even the most romantic of irredentists recognizes that military re-conquest of the southwest is not in the cards. But key Mexican policy makers appreciate that the growing ethnic, linguistic and regional fragmentation of American society, and the complacency of American leaders toward it, could bring rich opportunities to a neighboring nation allied with the stork and the squatter. TSC

NOTES

[1] Malthus, Thomas, *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798, 1830/1985), London: Penguin Books, pp.105, 226-227.

[2] Gibson, Charles, *Spain in America*, New York: Harper and Row, 1966, p.141.

[3] Gibson, p.190.

[4] Gibson, p.113.

[5] Poinsett letter of July 27, 1825 to Secretary of State Henry Clay, cited in Carlos Bosch Garcia, *Materia para la Historia Diplomatica de Mexico: Mexico y los Estados Unidos, 1820-1848*, Mexico: Escuela Nacional de Ciencias Politicas y Sociales,1957, pp.38-39.

[6] Bosch Garcia, pp.330-331.

[7] Bosch Garcia, pp.15-20.

[8] 1928 letter from Mier y Teran to Mexican President Guadalupe Victoria, cited in Wayne Moquin and Charles VanDoren (eds.), *A Documentary History of the Mexican Americas*, New York: Bantam/Praeger, 1971, p.185.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

French Immigration Reform — Act II

by Gerda Bikales

Readers of "Immigration Reform in France as Street Theater" (*The Social Contract*, Summer 1997) were left dangling in uncertainty. After significant immigration reforms had been enacted in March 1997 by a center-Right parliamentary coalition, the political landscape changed abruptly in June 1997. In April, President Jacques Chirac had surprised everyone by dissolving the National Assembly in which his party enjoyed an overwhelming majority. In the subsequent legislative elections, his party lost decisively to the Socialists. The Socialist leader, Lionel Jospin, was appointed Prime Minister and formed a new coalition government of the Left.

At the time of this political turnaround, the legislation restricting illegal immigration had not yet been applied. Given the avowed objections of the newly empowered Left to the immigration policies of the Right, what would happen? Act II follows.

A Surprise Victory

The victory of the Socialists and their Communist and "Green" allies surprised everyone. Most surprised of all were the Socialists. Expecting defeat, they had felt free to make extravagant promises to various factions within their uneasy coalition. They committed to expensive job creation schemes, while embracing the Communists' and Greens' demand for total revocation of the restrictive immigration reforms known as the "Pasqua" and "Debré" laws, enacted by governments of the Right over a period of several years.

The pro-immigration forces had made quite a show in 1996, when they organized to oppose laws drafted by Jean-Louis Debré, then Minister of the Interior. Several hundred African illegal immigrants had taken over a Paris church, St. Bernard, vowing not to leave until the government issued legal residence papers to all the "paperless" (*sans papiers*). Ten men had gone on a hunger strike that lasted 52 days, and the press had duly reported on every aspect of this daily drama. Celebrities and intellectuals had issued manifestos defying the government, and protest marches were held in all major cities. Until the hunger strikers were forcibly removed from the church they occupied, the attention of the country had been firmly fixed on the ten men reported to be starving inside.

Nevertheless, the government had refused to grant blanket amnesty, and offered no more than case-by-case review. Despite heated opposition, fueled by growing fears of the extremist Front National party, the Debré proposals became law.

The sudden change of government soon thereafter reawakened the immigrant-rights movement. The day after the election, a delegation of *sans papiers* were warmly received in the new Prime Minister's office. Assurances were given that a liberal immigration policy was a priority.

A New Immigration Optic

The Socialists lost no time getting to work. Within days of taking office their Minister of the Interior, Jean-Pierre Chevènement, addressed the problem of the "paperless" by issuing guidelines for regularizing their status. Applicants were invited to present their case to the local *préfet*,[1] who would review their *dossier* and make a final decision. The guidelines were generous, implying regularization for nearly anyone with family ties to a legal resident and offering yet another look at the merits of rejected political asylum claims. Students and sick people needing long-term treatment were also potentially eligible. Of the country's estimated 300,000 clandestine population, it was expected that 15,000 to 40,000 applicants would come forward.

The new government also commissioned a full

***Gerda Bikales** is a frequent contributor to* The Social Contract. *Ms Bikales was the first executive director of U.S. English. She has just returned from France where her husband has been stationed with the U.S. embassy.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

review of existing immigration law, along with recommendations for wide-ranging changes. This task was entrusted to Patrick Weil, an academic political scientist experienced in the politics of immigration.

Mr. Weil worked quickly. By August, while the country was on its traditional annual leave, he released his recommendations. He saw no need to abrogate the Pasqua and Debré laws, but his recommendations aimed to reverse their thrust. Briefly, the salient proposals of the Weil report were:

- to return to a policy of automatic citizenship at eighteen for the children of aliens born on French soil [earlier changes had required such individuals to affirmatively request citizenship sometime between the ages of 16 and 21],
- to broaden eligibility for political asylum,
- to ease the formalities for obtaining a visitor's visa,
- to ease current income and lodging requirements for sponsors in family reunification cases, and
- to ease access of students to French universities and French subsidies.

To balance these liberalizations, Weil recommended tough measures to deal with delinquents and criminal aliens, and extended the period of administrative detention, from ten to fifteen days.

As he explained it, Weil wished to "de-dramatize" the immigration issue by shifting the focus away from controls. Immigration was to be perceived as a routine process in the affairs of the nation.

Neither the Weil report nor the amnesty plan satisfied the immigrant-rights groups. A howl of disapproval went up — they had expected more from Jospin's rhetoric. Anything short of universal amnesty and open-door immigration was deemed unacceptable. Throughout the enactment process that resulted in a major liberalization of the country's immigration laws, the human-rights lobby continued to accuse the government of betrayal. The first open break in the Left coalition occurred in the course of the immigration debate, when key Communists and Greens split from the Socialists in parliamentary voting.

The naturalization issue was taken up first. The opposition Right, reduced to a small minority, strongly defended the principle of *voluntary* rather than automatic citizenship for the French-born children of foreigners. In a Senate vote, they called for a national referendum on the question, arguing that who and how one becomes a citizen is so fundamental to the future of the Republic that all citizens should be consulted. This was promptly denied.

"The opposition Right ... strongly defended the principle of* voluntary *rather than automatic citizenship for the French-born children of foreigners."

For more than a century French law had wavered, at times granting citizenship outright to all children born in France, at other times placing conditions on this privilege. Reforms instituted in 1993 stopped the then-current practice of allowing non-citizen parents to petition for citizenship on behalf of their young French-born children, requiring instead the older child's personal affirmation, sometime between ages 16 and 21. This was judged too harsh and complicated by the Socialists. They opted to reverse the process: the grown child would automatically become French at age eighteen, *unless* s/he formally rejected citizenship within six months of reaching eighteen, and up to a year thereafter. To placate those for whom birthright citizenship represents further immigration opportunities, alternative mechanisms were added to permit children as young as thirteen to become citizens.

A package of changes in immigration procedures was taken up next. The proposed legislation followed the Weil recommendations closely. As had been the case in the naturalization debate, the shrunken but vocal minority of the Right put up a fierce fight against many of its provisions, throwing technical roadblocks at every turn. Nerve-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wracking all-night sessions were marked by acrimonious exchanges in which the Minister of the Interior accused the opposition of holding views identical to those of the extremist National Front, while the Right accused the government of legislating "open doors immigration," and the offended radical Left threatened to walk out. At one point, legislators found themselves looking at more than 1700 amendments, offered by these two opposite ideological camps. In mid-December, the Communists and Greens bolted from the bill. It just squeezed through its all-important first reading in the Assembly, 276 to 254.

"The discretion of consular officials to refuse visas to individuals likely to remain illegally in France was curtailed..."

New Sources of Immigration

The bill that finally became law in May 98 has the potential of increasing legal immigration substantially. Two new categories of political asylum claims were added to the existing one, based on the Geneva convention. As formerly interpreted by French law, only persons escaping government-sponsored persecutions were eligible for asylum. The new law also grants "constitutional" asylum to "fighters for liberty," a phrase lifted from the country's 1945 Constitution. This protection is to be extended to persons fleeing persecutions unrelated to government policies. Large numbers of Algerians are expected to claim and qualify for this benefit, for the murderous reign of terror gripping that country is not government-ordered but perpetrated by Muslim fundamentalist factions. A third asylum category, to be known as *territorial*, will be granted at the discretion of the Minister of the Interior to anyone subjected to "inhuman or degrading treatment" or facing "major risks to his personal security" in his own country. Objections to both categories have been raised within the European Union, which attempts to maintain common screening and eligibility standards for political asylum. Furthermore, relaxed admissions to France opens all other member countries to the resulting immigration, as border controls have virtually disappeared and citizens from any member State can settle freely in any other.

Another change certain to increase immigration rapidly relates to the issuance of visas in various categories. Under the earlier law, family reunification sponsors had to live in France at least two years, meet minimum income requirements, and show proof of adequate lodging to house the family. The revised law, drawing on the claim of a person's universal right to "lead a normal family life," requires just a year's residence and lowers income and lodging requirements. A law passed in 1993 had limited men in polygamous unions to bringing in one wife and her children — a limitation now partly lifted, to allow children from a first union to immigrate along with the chosen wife and her progeny.

In the case of visas for visitors from countries with a consistent record of visa overstays, the law since 1982 had stipulated prepaid hotel reservations or an invitation from relatives or friends, who had to obtain a "certificate of domiciliation" from the mayor's office in their town, attesting to suitable living arrangements. Under pressure from the Left's radical wing, the practice was labeled useless and replaced by a simple declaration from the would-be host. The discretion of consular officials to refuse visas to individuals likely to remain illegally in France was curtailed — henceforth, refusal must be justified for many categories of visa applicants. A new category of visas for students, artists, and intellectuals was put in place to speed up their entry.

Throughout the enactment process, Prime Minister Jospin and Interior Minister Chevènement assured the public that these changes were not only more humane and consistent with French tradition, but also good for the image of France and unlikely to add substantially to the immigration flow. Whatever the increases, they would be largely offset by lower illegal entries, as many tempted to take up illegal residence would now have a legal way to accomplish their goal.

The prolongation of administrative detention from ten to fifteen days, to permit the government to strengthen its case in deportation proceedings,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

didn't quite make it. The Council of State, a respected constitutional watchdog, opined that this additional loss of liberty was too long. A compromise of twelve days survived the legal challenge.

Amnesty and the Problem of Declared Illegality

Other immigration stories made headlines, too. Prime Minister Jospin, on a trip to Mali and Senegal, had promised to end the use of charters for deporting people. Charters had been instituted some years earlier as an efficient and less expensive way to repatriate people. The immigration lobby had made charters a symbol of the State's inhumane behavior, and Jospin sought a more dignified way to return people to their homeland. Deportees were thus put on regular airline planes, accompanied by a security officer. Unlike the unadvertised charters, the departure times of scheduled flights were known. Organized opposition groups assembled at the airport, disrupted check-in operations, and recruited the cooperation of the passengers — most of them sympathetic fellow nationals of the deportees. Some flights became scenes of terror when the unwilling passengers took after the security agents in mid-flight. In some incidents, the deportees refused to leave the plane on arrival, while on-the-ground police refused to help the French agents. Some airlines soon refused to transport deportees. These problems have further cut the government's ability to deport people.

The other big immigration story was the unforeseen large number of applicants for amnesty. Within days, the predicted 40,000 maximum was exceeded. By the October 1997 filing deadline, more than 170,000 applications had been received at the prefectures. It is believed that this number was inflated by double filings, some people hedging their bets by applying in more than one prefecture.

Day-by-day, as cases were reviewed, a tally was kept on the outcomes in each prefecture. It was clear that some *préfets* interpreted the guidelines more restrictively than others, a fact that the immigrants's defenders took as conclusive proof of the unfairness of placing *any* conditions on amnesty. Overall, as the May 31, 1998 deadline for reviewing cases approached, it became known that somewhat over half the cases would receive favorable action. The bulk of the denials, about 70,000 — were bachelors without family ties in France or political asylum seekers with weak claims.

Two years earlier, when Interior Minister Debré was pushing through restrictive immigration laws and showcasing a policy of high-visibility deportations by charters, some 400 African *sans papiers* had occupied a Paris church, ten men had gone on a hunger strike, celebrities had issued manifestos of support, and marchers had taken to the streets by the tens of thousands. As amnesty rejections mounted, the pro-immigration organizations attempted repeatedly to duplicate these tactics, but met with limited success. Media interest faltered, perhaps because the Jospin government was already busy liberalizing immigration policy on all fronts, and could not creditably be made into the "bad guy" in a play dramatizing the "good guys."

"This left the country wondering what to do with 70,000 unlawful residents, now identified by the authorities, but unlikely ever to be deported. They constituted a new class in the immigration lexicon: declared illegal immigrants."

As July neared, almost all but the most complex cases had been adjudicated. In their statements, Chevènement and the Prime Minister continued to oppose unconditional amnesty. This left the country wondering what to do with 70,000 unlawful residents, now identified by the authorities, but realistically unlikely ever to be deported. They constituted a new class in the immigration lexicon: declared illegal immigrants.

Faced with more hunger strikes and clamors for an appeals procedure, the Prime Minister went back on his pronouncements on the finality of prefectural decisions and established yet another appeals board. They would not rubber stamp every application, Jospin insisted, but offered a chance to correct some

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

overlooked inequities. The government's unspoken plan at that time seemed to be to gain time — regularize some more people and deport some others, bribe with an outright gift of cash whatever number possible into returning voluntarily, and quietly find additional ways to legalize the status of others.

Football Glory and its Immigration Lessons

On July 12, the French "football" (soccer) team, familiarly known by the color of their shirts as "*les bleus,*" won the World Cup. The whole country went wild in celebrating this much hoped-for but unexpected victory. Winning the world's most illustrious sports event was widely perceived as a turnabout in the nation's fortunes, which had been sliding steadily for decades into economic paralysis, internal factionalism, and international irrelevance. The Cup's prestige confirmed that France was still a power to be reckoned with, a real winner in today's competitive world.

It did not escape anyone's notice that the magnificent French team was not *bleu* but multi-colored. Many of its talented players were of African, Arab, Caledonian and Caribbean origin, immigrants and sons of immigrants. Didn't this victorious outcome prove convincingly that Frenchmen of all ancestries could work together in harmony toward common goals?

As euphoria gripped the country, Charles Pasqua, an elderly former Minister of the Interior whose name has become synonymous with immigration restriction, announced his support for unconditional amnesty to all registered *sans papiers.* Its self-confidence restored by victory on the football field, France could tackle its immigration headaches with renewed generosity.

Government spokesmen claimed to be amused by this proposal from the country's foremost advocate of strict controls. And though at this writing the declared *sans papiers* are still in limbo, football glory and Pasqua's surprising about-face have had an immediate effect. With the nation packing its bags to take off for the sacrosanct August vacation, more flexible interpretations of some technical points regarding prior residence in France were announced. They are expected to clear the path to amnesty for another 30,000 applicants. The question then becomes: with 30,000 more ineligibles given permanent papers, can the remaining 40,000 be far behind? Probably not — if the elation of the World Cup win can be made to linger a while longer.

TSC

NOTE

[1] The system of prefectures is France's way of dispersing the centralized power of the State. Administratively, the nation is divided into 96 *départements,* each with a prefecture and several sub-prefectures, headed by a *préfet* or sub-*préfet.* These officials incarnate the executive power of the Republic, and have considerable discretion in the interpretation and application of the laws. The prefecture is a very powerful institution, staffed by an élite corps of professional administrators. They are transferred frequently to minimize the potential for corruption by reshuffling local power arrangements.

Immigration is one of the most contentious issues confronting the American public today.

Only four countries (all English-speaking) permit large-scale immigration — the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Millions of people around the world are on the move. These four countries are the preferred destinations for economic migrants, refugees and illegal aliens. Where will this lead? What can be done about it?

Each quarter *The Social Contract* examines trends, events, and ideas that could unravel America's delicate social fabric. The writers appearing in *The Social Contract* focus on the inter-related issues of population growth, immigration, and questions of culture and national unity.

You won't want to miss a single issue of this thought-provoking journal.

We invite you to subscribe
Four issues a year for only $25, $10 for students

Call toll free
1-800-352-4843
Visa, Mastercard and American Express accepted

The Social Contract Press
316½ East Mitchell Street, Suite 4
Petoskey, Michigan 49770
Fax: (616) 347-1185

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Demographic Masochism

Pitching tents for 'the camp of the saints'

by John Zmirak

This past March (March 9, 1998) environmentalist author Bill McKibben published an op-ed in *The New York Times*, condensed from his new book *Maybe One: A Personal and Environmental Argument for Single-Child Families* (Simon & Schuster, NY). The column appeared just before the Sierra Club was to vote on whether or not to take a position on the environmental impact of mass immigration into the U.S. (Predictably, the anti-immigration initiative failed.) In the piece, McKibben exhibits the standard response of liberal environmentalists to arguments for immigration restriction so compactly and candidly that his ideas deserve a careful look.

McKibben acknowledges the fact that the American birth rate has dropped to replacement level, and that the dangerous population growth in the U.S. is now driven by immigration. But McKibben rejects the proposal that we address this problem directly by closing American borders — at least until we have radically altered our own lifestyles. In his view, Americans must defer any immigration reform until we have dropped our native birth rate *well below* replacement level, and reduced our standard of living to something approaching a Third World average.

McKibben's position centers on consumption. We who live in the "developed world" — the West plus Japan — consume vastly more natural resources than individuals living in the Third World. Each of us in New York or Tokyo uses more energy, requires the extraction of more natural resources, and produces more pollution than does the average resident of the Rain Forest or the Kalahari.

From this simple fact, McKibben draws the conclusion that we in the developed world have *less right to reproduce* than residents of poorer countries. And this syllogism makes sense — if you see human beings as hogs at a common trough. No farmer would continue raising two breeds of pig when one required far more grain to fatten up than another. He would swiftly shift to the most efficient breed of swine, as most farmers have in fact already done with a number of domesticated species, at the expense of agricultural biodiversity. The slop-hogging swine would quickly feel the knife — first castration, then slaughter.

> Novelist Jean Raspail's *The Casmp of the Saints* depicts the villains who throw open Europe's borders to self-destruction out of sheer self-hatred. McKibben's policy recommendations seem equally dangerous.

There's one flaw in this neat little barnyard calculus: human beings aren't swine (or even cattle). Many of us can produce far more than we consume, and what we are able to produce depends on the technological, political, and economic infrastructure of the nation created by our ancestors. Those of us who inhabit developed, democratic countries are able to contribute far more to the advancement of science, medicine, technology, and political liberation than those who live in poor, despotic societies. Our aggregate consumption is exceeded by our aggregate production of vaccines, agricultural advances, computer innovations and so on. This is not because we are in any way intrinsically superior to the residents of poor countries; we are simply the heirs of more advanced political, economic, and social arrangements — the hard-won fruits of 2,000 years of a particular civilization. Some dare call it "Christendom."

And we are the *rightful* heirs. Just as our parents worked and saved to advance their own children's prospects, so our ancestors struggled (against

John Zmirak, Ph.D. *is an essayist and screenwriter living in New York City. His doctorate is in English Literature from Louisiana State University (1996). A frequent contributor to* The Social Contract, *he is currently writing a book on economics.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

invaders and despotic rulers) so that *their descendants* could enjoy freedom, prosperity, and a continuous Western civilization. Each one of us has a personal stake in this heritage, a *property right.*[1] We are shareholders in a corporate common good, with the freedom to deed our shares to our children. We can also issue new shares by inviting new immigrants into our country. But we have no moral duty to do so, especially at the expense of our own children, as McKibben perversely suggests.

The Real Common Heritage of Mankind

The political institutions and technological advances that grew out of the developed world are the common heritage of mankind; there is no patent on the free market, democracy, the common law or property rights. Every nation is free to emulate them, even to reproduce the technological advances they produced. But no individual has the right to demand citizenship in any particular foreign country.

"Our right to enjoy our nation's heritage carries with it a key responsibility toward other nations: the duty not to step in and mangle their cultures..."

Our right to enjoy our nation's heritage carries with it a key responsibility toward other nations: the duty not to step in and mangle their cultures, whether through open colonization, or cultural imperialism conducted by means of trade and propaganda. If we wish to preserve our culture, then we must respect citizens of other nations who wish to preserve their own, be they Islamic clerics, tribal leaders, or Christian bishops. We should use neither troops, trade, nor treaty to force our ideology, commerce, and sexual mores upon other nations. Where nations in the West have done so in the past throughout Africa and Asia, wherever colonial flags have flown, we now recognize a special responsibility to make reparation. This historic responsibility, and not a general desire to redistribute the wealth, is what motivates French involvement in French-speaking Africa and American involvement in the Philippines. Note that nations are selective in their concern, focusing on nations to which they *owe* something or from which they expect something. Nations really act like communities with corporate "property rights," capable of contracting debts and committing torts. Perhaps it is time our abstractions caught up with reality.

Do not be misled. I am not advocating a kind of hard-headed national egoism, but simply the application to international politics of the basic principles of property rights and common law. These are the principles that have made possible the very progress which makes our countries such attractive destinations for emigrants. Were these principles respected around the world, there would soon be no huddled masses desperate to escape. Meanwhile, how would it serve the "global common good" to destroy the handful of nations where liberty and order prevail by swamping them with needy, politically naive refugees? Or to remove the stake each of us has in the future, by denying us the right to reproduce?

Since the Cold War ended in 1989, all reasonable people admit what classical liberal economists always knew: that men will work harder and more prudently for their private and family interests than for the "common good." So citizens will better tend their local communities and nations than the abstract "biosphere." If we make nationhood meaningless, we would turn the world from a patchwork of privately owned and tended plots into a global commons. This would diminish the well-being of the whole in order to redistribute goods to some, all in the service of abstract, virtually meaningless ideals. Sound familiar? It was attempted in Russia for 70 years with grim results: poverty, envy, sloth, enormous waste and, not incidentally, a blighted environment.

Adam Smith has been vindicated: free property rights and the rule of law do increase the overall wealth, even of the poor. So the continued growth of the developed world benefits even those who reside outside its borders. The technological, medical and other innovations that result from the American (and Western and Japanese) market economy are quickly transferred around the world, amply

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

justifying our disproportionate consumption of resources. If the developed world, in some fit of self-hatred, were to plunge willfully into a Third World standard of living, does McKibben really think the living standards of poor people elsewhere would be improved? Are our vaccines, manufacturing refinements (including "green" technologies), and agricultural advances really worth so little to the world as a whole that we should smash the economic machine that produces them? Anyone who thinks so certainly has the duty to emigrate and move to an underdeveloped country (if they will admit him; many countries, including Mexico, have strict barriers to entry).

The Alienable Right to Reproduce

When applied to individual family life, the moral blindness McKibben displays is appalling. He suggests that no individual American has "the right" to vote to limit immigration unless he or she is personally willing to approximate a Third World standard of living and renounce the right to reproduction by dropping below our current birthrate of 2.1 children per couple. Otherwise, the "right" of would-be immigrants to enter the United States (legally or illegally) must supersede our right to private property and reproductive freedom.

This is an astonishing suggestion. If a human being has any inalienable right beyond that of life, it is the right to reproduce, the right, in fact, to bear as many or as few children as he or she can support without governmental help. (This last clause is key; by removing this proviso, the state gives the green light to irresponsible parenthood, and invariably begins to interfere in family life with programs to encourage or discourage procreation in the attempt to maximize the number of taxpayers and minimize the number of welfare babies. This meddling has gone much further in socialized Europe than in the U.S. Rather than increase the coercive power of the welfare state, the answer is to roll it back.)

As the current birthrate suggests, the pressures of urban life, the increasing expense of education, and other factors of modernization have all interacted to nudge most residents of the developed world to have fewer children (and in some places, such as Italy, too few). Population experts such as Virginia Abernethy have argued persuasively that every society that is forced to live within its means and support most of the population it generates will tend toward an equilibrium in the long run. This is violated if it sends its "bonus" population abroad to colonize other lands that have lower birthrates. The population boom in 19th century Europe, for instance, was made possible by the fact that there was always an America to which one could emigrate if one was out of land or out of luck. At the time, certain U.S. employers lobbied for the admission of masses of unskilled, desperate laborers. We no longer have such a need, so why should we keep on accepting them?

"McKibben's argument implies that our reproductive rights are overridden by the 'rights' of immigrants to enter our country. This is a truly astounding moral inversion. From whence does this immigration 'right' derive? What are the duties entailed in it?

McKibben's argument implies that our reproductive rights are overridden by the "rights" of immigrants to enter our country. This is a truly astounding moral inversion. From whence does this immigration "right" derive? What are the duties entailed in it?

To learn English? To loyally support the U.S. government in preference to any former regime or minority identity? To prefer the national interest of the adopted nation to the special interests of one's former countrymen, or prospective immigrants? To oppose attempts to peel off United States territory, such as the U.S. southwest or "Aztlan" and hand it over to foreign governments? All these duties, which my grandparents accepted as the price of entry, are rejected by multiculturalists and many immigrant activists.

To whom does this "right" to enter America extend? To the 1.1 million immigrants who make their way here legally or illegally each year? To

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

400,000 people, a figure proposed by some restrictionists? Why not to the entire population of the world? McKibben calls the restrictionist position "piggish" and "immoral." But by his logic, so is our current immigration policy. To gain his blessing we must either open our borders entirely or sterilize ourselves and retire to live in huts like the Unabomber.

"We owe it to our own children, the descendants of immigrants, to leave them a governable, environmentally sustainable nation."

Let's try a thought experiment. Imagine for a moment that no right exists to immigrate into a particular country at will without that nation's consent. I know — a shocking idea. But this curious notion has been accepted by virtually every immigrant group that came to the U.S. until recently. Certainly my grandfather, Patríc Zmirak, never thought he had a presumptive right to enter America. The U.S. government did not admit him in recognition of some such "right" or national "guilt," or the wealth imbalance between the U.S. and the Hapsburg empire.

No. Grandpa got in because America needed merchant marines during World War I. He signed up for dangerous war-time service and thereby earned the right to emigrate. On the other side of my family, America accepted my Irish-American ancestors because employers claimed they needed cheap, unskilled laborers and farmers to fuel the economy and fill up vast territories that had just been conquered from American Indians and Mexico. These immigrants brought benefits that are familiar to us: brawn and fertility. (We needed these more in 19th century America than we do just now.)

These immigrants also imposed costs, which were felt by the displaced Mexicans and Indians and by the native working class, whose wages fell. When Americans — many of them recent immigrants — decided in the 1920s that the costs of cheap labor, ever-expanding cultural diversity, and a booming population outweighed the benefits, they restricted immigration. In this, they were perfectly within their rights.

It's true that if the U.S. border had been closed in 1915, my family would have stayed in Croatia. Then again, if the border had never closed, we might not have become real Americans. With a constant influx from the "Old Country," my father might not have learned fluent English, thanks to Slavic bilingual schooling in the Croatian *barrio*. "Assimilation" would have become a dirty word in 1930. Multiculturalism would have arisen 50 years earlier, encouraging my father to be loyal to Fascist Croatia instead of enlisting in the U.S. Army under Patton. The German-American *Bund*, instead of a sick aberration, would have become the model for immigrant-rights groups, as the polyglot scions of Europe, always reinforced, warred among themselves for slices of the vanishing commonweal amid ever-lower wages and the ruins of the labor movement. Ethnic quotas at universities would not have diminished, but would have become ever more entrenched to ensure proportional representation, as an exploding population crushed the newborn conservationist movement.

This nightmare scenario, which the nativists feared in the 1920s, has already come true in California and our other immigration-receiving states. We owe it to our own children, the descendants of immigrants, to leave them a governable, environmentally sustainable nation. To strangers who have never fought in our wars, plowed our fields, or paid U.S. taxes we owe the good will that all human beings deserve, and our good example, and our prayers.

The Future of the Prudent Immigration Movement

In the course of his piece, McKibben serves to demonstrate the flawed moral logic that beguiles so much of the environmentalist movement and renders it incapable of clear thinking on the subject of immigration. Indeed, we see in McKibben an object lesson of why the Sierra Club initiative was doomed to failure, and why, as I have argued before in *The Social Contract* (Winter 1996-7) the decisive impetus for immigration reform, if it ever comes, will have to come from the nationalist Right, rather than the environmentalist Left.

McKibben accurately mirrors the policy of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

leaders of the Sierra Club, who fought bitterly to defeat the immigration reform initiative. These leaders are like too many on the Left who are alienated from the reality that a nation is a community, with communal property rights, of which each *citizen* partakes. Instead, they insist upon "thinking globally." When foreigners seek to expropriate our national heritage — a relatively uncrowded, clean countryside — what is their response? Is it to depopulate and impoverish our own nations, in the hope, perhaps, that then the huddled masses will leave us alone? Could it be that McKibben is not a real person but a fictitious invention of Jean Raspail? He could be one of the villains of *The Camp of the Saints* who throws open Europe's borders to self-destruction out of sheer self-hatred. I fear, alas, that McKibben is all too real. Certainly, the drive towards cultural suicide, which underlies his policy recommendations, is a real motivating force in the anti-Western ideology called multiculturalism.

Along with this multiculturalism, too many environmentalists are wedded to collectivist economics, to the proposition that the world ought to be and must become a global commons, governed collectively. Garrett Hardin himself has argued, pessimistically, that world population is already a global commons.[2] In other words, families can no longer be trusted with their own reproductive decisions since the welfare state has irreversibly thrust the cost of childbearing onto society as a whole and the state must step in and regulate even this intimate realm. Plus, if we think globally, as McKibben would have us do, then this intrusive state which regulates reproduction must act as a world government — a global family planning bureaucracy.

If this is our future then the battle is already lost. No society, from the smallest village to the global one, can prosper under a collectivist regime. Just as the rich farms of Ukraine turned to dustbowls when Stalin collectivized them, so the prosperity of the developed world will blow away, if the binding roots of property, nationhood, family and citizenship are uprooted. In the absence of common law and private profit, no extremes of coercion will serve to ration natural resources effectively, or distribute wealth fairly. If collectivism gains power again, and does so globally through international organizations that usurp particular sovereignty, then we really will have awakened inside George Orwell's nightmare: a tyranny from which there is no escape. TSC

NOTES

[1] For an exposition of this idea see Robert W. Whitaker, "Societal Property Rights," in *The New Right Papers* edited by Robert W. Whitaker, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982.

[2] See his classic essay, "The Tragedy of the Commons," reprinted in *Managing the Commons*, edited by John Baden and Douglas Noonan, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1998.

GRIN AND BEAR IT

"This is old! It's in English only."

© 1997 by North America Syndicate.
Reprinted by permission. All rights reserved.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Challenging the Myths

Here are samples from a Canadian website that apply to many other countries

by Wayne Lutton

The Canadafirst Immigration Reform Committee maintains an excellently-crafted website at www.canadafirst.net. One of the segments deals with twenty common "myths" about immigration. As one examines these myths and the group's response to them, he realizes that the name of the country is interchangeable with many others — the same myths are voiced in the U.S., Australia, New Zealand, Britain, and many European countries.

Here we print three of the "myths" along with Canadafirst's reply. Just substitute the name "America" for "Canada" to have a cogent response to a few common myths about immigration.

Myth No. 1: Canada is a Nation of Immigrants

Feeling guilty yet? Well, you should be, at least that's the idea that drives these cliches. Of course, it's true. Whether we arrived by way of the Bering Land Bridge or in steerage, we all came from somewhere else. According to that logic aboriginals are immigrants, too. As the oldest, best-established group on the continent they presumably owe an enormous debt of gratitude, moral support, time and money to all subsequent arrivals. But somehow it doesn't work that way. It is Canadians of European descent who are expected to subsidize — in perpetuity —those who came before us, as well as those who continue to roll in. In other words, we must assist those we displaced, while supporting efforts to displace us.

Aboriginal rights revolve around the idea that a standing population was first overwhelmed, then subsumed and forced to toe the line by new people(s) and new culture(s). We've heard the charges of genocide and cultural extermination. (Both concepts have been rather successfully marketed to Canadians of European descent under the guise of "multiculturalism.")

Noticing any similarities is rather forcefully discouraged. Aboriginals may balk at the mere suggestion, but their ancestors, crossing the Bering Land Bridge, had more in common with immigrant European arrivals than PC politics will admit. Aboriginal and European antecedents did not find their way here through the intervention of an immigration lawyer or consulting service. And both arrived into a wilderness. They most assuredly did not find welfare, education, old age and medical programs. Even the most hopelessly brain dead liberal knows there is a *world* of difference between today's immigrant and those, both red and white, who created something out of that wilderness. The liberal just doesn't want you to talk about it.

And while we're on the subject, not all of us came to North America as immigrants. Indeed, our two major founding European peoples — the French and the English — came [as citizens] to part of their homeland. The French came to "New France"; the English to a British colony.

Myth No. 2: Diversity Makes Us Stronger

What is your definition of strength? A nation of people forbidden to discuss the very things which impact on their every action? What is your definition of diversity? True diversity is anathema to multicultural principles. The dictionary definition of diversity stresses differences, but as we're told — officially — there are no differences at all. And that's what makes this sham "diversity" such a living hell.

Now that we are living in close proximity, you might think the learning curve would begin to climb steeply. Unfortunately, the Canadian government forbids debate and dialogue, characterizing it as "hate." So, Canadians are effectively and quite

---

Wayne Lutton is editor of The Social Contract.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

efficiently crippled. We are not permitted to talk about issues of diversity or immigration without being accused of racism. What this kind of "diversity" does create is a phenomenon known as "white flight." As old communities accommodate new populations, the neighborhood experiences a transformation. Soon it bears no resemblance to the former (now marginalized) community. Different cultural values and customs prevail. It may be interesting to visit, but would you really want to live there?

The elderly feel it first. They grow increasingly uncomfortable in their long-time homes. When people feel conditions have passed the limit of toleration, they simply give up, sell, and move elsewhere — usually well away. Those who do flee are characterized as wet-blankets, or dinosaurs. What our press disapprovingly calls "white flight" is called ethnic cleansing elsewhere. People would never leave their homes and communities if they felt they had any real choice. We really have to begin to appreciate the distinction. As for diversity "making us stronger," we're going to have to force ourselves to examine and confront feel-good cliches whenever some idiot clears his throat to recite a few. We've been eager and willing accomplices in our own demise.

Placing blind faith in a collection of hyper-ambitious lawyers masquerading as "committed and caring" statesmen has brought us to a point where even *they* dare not criticize immigration, refugee and multicultural policies:

> *There is something wrong with a government that says a person or party which disagrees with something like immigration policy is racist — or when a party, group or individual disagrees with the gay rights legislation that they are homophobic. There is something wrong with the message the government is sending across this land.*
>
> — M.P. Randy White, May 28, 1996

Myth No. 4
But We Need Immigrants

The neo-con argument is that our population is shrinking and aging (and no doubt shrinking as it ages), and that immigrants cheerfully will shell out for our pensions when the time comes. A recent study in the U.S. suggests that immigrant populations will hear of no such thing. As of September, 1997, Canada's Liberal government is launching a major public relations campaign to soften us up for an overall ten percent reduction in Canada's old age benefit, as well as nearly doubling (by 73 percent) the amount of CPP [pension tax] extracted at source.

The concept of state-care for the elderly is unheard of in the Third World. Indeed, since June, 1996, wealthy Singapore has had a Tribunal for the Maintenance of Parents. The body merely requires children to care for aged parents. "Officials were surprised at the numbers of neglected parents," according to the *New York Times*.

"As for diversity 'making us stronger,' we're going to have to force ourselves to examine and confront feel-good cliches whenever some idiot clears his throat to recite a few."

Thanks to multiculturalism, recent arrivals are not only encouraged to do things the "old" way, but force-fed a steady drip of anti-white rhetoric once they settle in. Canada is currently experiencing an exodus of wealthy Chinese returning to a less-taxed Hong Kong where, among the half of the population that is actually required to pay taxes, the maximum taxation rate is just 15 percent. Liberal types insist that immigrants are paying more than their fair share of taxes — *Great!* — assuming that a completely revised infrastructure to accommodate the needs of recent arrivals didn't cost anything.

Rather than simply replacing the standing population and consistently compromising Canadian expectations to accommodate recent arrivals, responsible government would implement programs to upgrade our own skills and stop importing them from countries which need those skills desperately. Moral government would encourage the growth of Canadian families with incentives, tax breaks, discounted mortgages and assistance with schooling and the other associated costs of raising Canadian children. Our manageable little problems have ballooned into massive bloated imponderables which we are not allowed to discuss. TSC

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Of Human Capital

National Character and Cultural Assets

Book Review by Kevin Lamb

Every year Transparency International publishes a list of the most and least corrupt nations worldwide. Since 1995, the Berlin-based organization has ranked nations on a scale of 10 (least corrupt) to 0 (most corrupt) according to *perceptions of the degree of corruption.* This information comes from surveys of business people who are asked to assess the *risk level* of nations in terms of international commerce and business transactions.

Certain patterns emerge in these national comparisons. Denmark is the least corrupt while several other European nations rank among the top ten. Others include New Zealand, Iceland, Canada and Singapore. The United States ties Austria as the 17th least corrupt nation. Cameroon, Paraguay, Honduras, Tanzania and Nigeria round out the survey for their rampant corruption. Two years ago, Nigeria edged out the finalists as the most decadent.

Conquests & Cultures: An International History
by Thomas Sowell
New York: Basic Books, 1998
493 pages, $35

Some observers contend that a legacy of colonial oppression explains these differences in national corruption. Imperialism merely fosters despotism; third world indigence stems from exploitation and enslavement. In other words, pent-up resentment against the tyranny of military conquests generates violent uprisings. Put simply, oppression *causes* poverty and degradation.

While prevalent among intellectual elites, this viewpoint is intensely scrutinized in Thomas Sowell's recent book *Conquests and Cultures.* In the final volume of his trilogy on race and culture, Sowell examines the role of culture and military conquests in establishing national economic and social trends.

As a result, common assumptions regarding "victimization" are thoroughly discredited. Such as the notion that successful cultures *impose* socio-economic disparities on the indigent. Sowell argues that "human capital," what some refer to as the culmination of national character and cultural traits, remains the primary source of national disparities in economic and political stability. Cultural and ethnic differences explain inequalities of national achievement more aptly than imperialism. As Sowell points out, it is *inequality* rather than *equality* that governs human affairs.

A major lesson that surfaces from Sowell's study is the fallacy of multiculturalism, namely that "diversity" enhances national vitality. Hence, *all* cultures are *equally endowed* with the same combination of *valuable* traits and characteristics. As former Colorado governor Richard Lamm put it recently, "diverse people must unify or they have conflicts. Melting pots that don't melt become pressure cookers."

Consider Nigeria and Rwanda. Thirty-eight years after achieving independence from Great Britain, Africa's largest country remains in political turmoil and economic ruin. Since 1966, military regimes have ruled Nigeria from one coup after another. The per capita gross domestic product of Nigerians is $300 while inflation lingers at 100 percent, despite vast reserves of offshore oil deposits. As a *Washington Post* reporter noted in October 1995;

> *Perhaps nowhere is Nigeria's plight more evident than in Lagos, the country's largest metropolitan area, with about 7 million people, a rotting infrastructure, nonfunctioning public institutions and suffocating poverty.*
>
> *The city's streets are often impassable because few of its stoplights function, and traffic police are overwhelmed. The usual, brief afternoon showers fill*

Kevin Lamb *is a library assistant for* Newsweek. *He is a frequent contributor to* The Social Contract.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

up crater-sized potholes in the roads.

Children, many younger than 10, roam Lagos's streets late into the night, selling oranges or bread or peanuts. On the sidewalks, candlelight frames the faces of adult peddlers surrounded by their goods as they struggle to eke a profit from a workday that began just past dawn and will end near midnight.[1]

Ethnic division remains the source of Nigeria's economic and social problems. Nigeria's population is composed of 250 different ethnic groups. This level of tribal "diversity," coupled with its level of population density and expansion, hinders the formation of well-established customs and traditions, which also fuel its incivility, placing it firmly among the world's most corrupt nations. The lack of a common heritage united by language, civic manners and social mores — prevalent among more homogeneous cultures — has stunted the cultivation of skills that are necessary for global economic competition and national productivity. In pragmatic terms, Sowell demonstrates that the incivility of Nigerian culture places it firmly among the world's most corrupt nations.

"... Sowell tends to gloss over the empirical relationship between race, culture and ethnicity."

Likewise, the widespread ethnic violence that consumed the east-central African nation of Rwanda, following the death of President Habyarimana in April 1994, offers yet another example of the destructive consequences when a melting pot becomes a boiling caldron. In a two month span, fighting between Rwanda's two major ethnic groups, the ruling Hutus and Tutsi rebels, led to the massacre of nearly 500,000 Rwandans and displaced nearly 2 million refugees to Zaire and Burundi. A quarter of Rwanda's population either perished in the violence or fled the country as marauding bands of Hutu militias wiped out entire villages.

Colonial rule provided a measure of order and stability that has eroded under decolonization. Whatever social cohesion had previously existed in Nigeria and Rwanda, ethnic violence has unraveled since achieving their independence. Sowell drives this point home in his trademark iconoclastic way:

The impact of European conquerors on Africa, for good and evil, was relatively brief as history is measured – about three generations, as compared to the centuries in which the Romans ruled Britain or Imperial China ruled parts of southeast Asia or the Moors ruled Spain... in many parts of Africa the departure of the European rulers was followed by technological breakdowns, failing economies, and political chaos. One man, one vote – one time.

The progressive path of modern civilizations is grounded upon what Sowell refers to as the "human capital" of advanced cultures. This "human capital" consists of a refined set of skills, habits, talents and traits which over generations give some cultures a competitive advantage over others. Sowell establishes this point beyond any reasonable doubt by cultivating solid historical examples that support this central point. It is his explanation of *how* cultures *acquired* these different qualities that puts him on thin ice.

As is the case with some of his prior works, Sowell tends to gloss over the empirical relationship between race, culture and ethnicity. Not that much of what he writes is inaccurate, rather Sowell often takes his reader to the water's edge only to wade through the shallow aspects of highly contentious issues. While Sowell acknowledges the realities of race, culture and ethnicity — often recognizing the validity of each category — his own analysis fails to adequately disentangle these illusive yet distinct concepts. Time and again he manages to capture the essence of the bigger picture without fully examining the ingredients in the developing process.

Cultures simply do not exist in a vacuum. Any comparative analysis of *cultural differences* requires further reduction in dissecting the factors that produce this variation. For instance, how does race or ethnicity *specifically* influence culture or vice versa for that matter? If race or ethnicity is irrelevant for cultural development, *why* is it irrelevant? By probing the murky depths of these concepts a little more, Sowell could augment his already impressive body of scholarship with a more definitive edge. Instead of a patchwork of comparative historical examples, this analytical puissance would give

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sowell's study the penetrative strength of a Spengler, Gibbon or Toynbee.

Some cultures, according to Sowell, have acquired beneficial skills by the luck of their own geographic location. The climate, terrain, borders, coastline, and natural resources of Western Europe are more conducive to commerce and trade, more so than Eastern Europe and even other continents. The natural landscape of Western Europe has contributed to its cultural enrichment. This argument also surfaces in Jared Diamond's Pulitzer Prize-winning book, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies.*

As an explanation of cultural advancement, Sowell concedes that landscape is one of many factors. Geography merely supplements cultural traits like natural talent and skill level in advanced civilizations. Yet, Sowell leaves his reader with the impression that geography *can* trump these other cultural factors. He suggests that geography may in fact be *the* major difference between the physical and cultural landscapes of Europe and Africa. Implicit in this argument is the notion that given the same set of geographical and environmental conditions that define Western Europe, the cultural landscape of Africa would be vastly different. And perhaps Sowell is right.

However, arguments over the significance of geography in cultural development are not new. Sir Ernest Barker, the eminent Oxford University political scientist, underscored the importance of geography, territory and climate in his classic study *National Character and the Factors in Its Formation.*[2] Likewise, Yale University geographer Ellsworth Huntington wrote at length about the relevance of climate and geography to cultural differences. Both stressed the geographical side of the equation without neglecting one critical factor that Sowell overlooks: the contribution of a gene pool. Consider Huntington's observations on the role of inheritance:

> *As the difficulties of the environment become greater, the importance of heredity increases. Another way of putting it is that as people rise in the scale of innate capacity, as well as of cultural advantages, the limits imposed by nature become less strict.*[3]

In *Mainsprings of Civilization,* Huntington notes that the Scandinavian settlers of Iceland, isolated by unfavorable geographical conditions (three-quarters of its surface area is wasteland) and represented in relatively small numbers, were able to establish a thriving culture, one that produced several daily newspapers, magazines and academic journals as well as a Nobel prize recipient. This Icelandic culture thrived despite few schools and the lack of natural resources. Jon Karlsson writes in *The Genetics of Human Mentality* that "Iceland claims to have essentially total literacy, and certainly it is true that everyone learns to read and write except a few severely handicapped persons. More books are reported to be printed in Iceland per capita than in any other country."[4]

The example of Icelandic culture illustrates the refined qualities of "human capital" that, as Sowell points out, are essential for cultivating a permanent civilization. Although Sowell realizes that "geography isn't destiny," he neglects to flush out a few important factors while emphasizing ones that he admits are of limited explanatory value. In a timelessly perceptive slim volume, *National Welfare and National Decay,* William McDougall, the dean of social psychologists, captured the gist of Sowell's work, "the great condition of the decline of any civilization is the inadequacy of the qualities of the people who are the bearers of it."[5]

Despite its shortcomings, Sowell's *Conquests and Cultures* effectively debunks a number of myths regarding the role of imperialism and military conquest in cultural affairs. As an outstanding complement to the rest of his trilogy on race and culture, this final volume reflects the thoughtful deliberations of a landmark study. TSC

NOTES

[1] Buckley, Stephen, "After 35 Years, Nigeria Still Stumbling on Road to Democracy," *The Washington Post,* October 1, 1995.

[2] Barker, Ernest, *National Character and the Factors In Its Formation,* Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1927, Chapter 3, "The Geographic Factor: Territory and Climate" pp.48-83.

[3] Huntington, Ellsworth, *Mainsprings of Civilization,* John Wiley & Sons, 1947, p.145.

[4] Karlsson, Jon L., *Genetics of Human Mentality,* Praeger, 1991, p.76.

[5] McDougall, William, *National Welfare and National Decay,* Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1921, p.36.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Population Growth Has Consequences

Social, political, economic examples given

Book Review by Leon Bouvier

Abbott and Costello were perhaps the most famous comedy duo of the 1930s; a far more sophisticated duo was the musical comedy writing team of Oscar Hammerstein and Richard Rodgers. Their contributions to 20th century music will last forever.

It may seem peculiar for the author of a book review about demographics to begin with Abbott and Costello, but the point is that in countless fields and disciplines, many "duos" have contributed significantly to their respective areas of expertise.

Demography may be on the verge of offering its own artistic duo. I refer to the combined work of Michael Teitelbaum and Jay Winter. While this is intended as a brief review of their latest monograph, *Question of Numbers,* one cannot truly appreciate this work without having first read their earlier piece, *The Fear of Population Decline.*[1]

Both concentrate on the recent and current changes in demographic variables. That is to say, fertility has reached all-time lows in most advanced countries while fertility remains high (though falling slightly) in most developing nations. At the same time, immigration from the latter to the former regions is increasing at a rapid pace.

In their earlier work, the authors devoted considerable space to the history of the fears of being "overtaken" by outsiders, especially in certain European countries. However, in the present text, attention is concentrated on the typical receiving countries — notably in Europe and North America.

Teitelbaum and Winter admit that "they are fully aware, though, that the boundaries between these two [i.e. North and South] are porous, and the fact that populations move both within the countries of each and from other parts of the world is central to this book (p.3)." Thus the stage is set for a well-written monograph (in English and not "demographese") that examines the enormous shifts in population behavior that have taken place in recent decades.

A Question of Numbers: High Migration, Low Fertility and the Politics of National Identity Since 1960
by Michael S. Teitelbaum and Jay M. Winter
New York: Hill & Wang, Inc., 1998
290 pages, $26.00

From the outset, it is obvious that this is not a strictly demographic piece. While the shifts that have taken place in population behavior since the end of the second World War are enormous, much of this book is devoted to the political and historical changes that have either been affected by demographic changes or have caused such changes.

After a brief and extremely useful introduction, the authors assign the next few chapters to how the three major Western European nations (i.e. France, Germany and Great Britain) have reacted in the last few decades to their new demographic challenges. As the authors point out, each has responded very differently to new immigration and, especially in the case of France, the extremely low fertility.

Within these chapters are included a number of interesting "anecdotes" such as the long-running controversy among prominent French demographers over the *true* meaning of the total fertility rate vis-a-vis completed fertility. The different approaches to

Leon Bouvier *of Fruitland Park, FL, is adjunct professor of demographics at the Tulane University School of Public Health.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

demographic changes of the three countries make for fascinating reading.

The authors then turn their attention to the more recent occurrences in Eastern Europe — especially in what was Yugoslavia and the USSR. Considerable historical as well as political information is included in this (and other chapters) that allow for a better understanding of why countries react differently to massive demographic shifts. A separate chapter is set aside for the horrendous situation that has taken place in Romania, and here, much of Teitelbaum's well-known earlier research is included.

Throughout these chapters dealing primarily with European countries, the authors insert interesting and related "sidebars" of interest. For example, the Salman Rushdie affair is dealt with in some detail as is the development of the eugenics movement in Great Britain. In other words, the authors do not limit themselves to a "question of numbers." Rather, they delve further into each subject, as appropriate, so that the reader can become better informed of the overall socio-political situation in specified areas.

Following the various chapters on the European situation, Teitelbaum and Winter turn their attention to North America — namely the United States and Canada. While the United States demographic situation is already fairly well-known, the authors consign considerable space to the general controversy that has engulfed the three most recent World Population Conferences and the changing positions taken by the United States. They are, in this reviewer's opinion, correct in criticizing rather strongly the Reagan position (led by his "advisers" James Buckley and Ben Wattenberg) at the Mexico City conference. They also noted, rather dryly, that the Catholic and Communist positions seemed to have almost reached rapprochement, albeit unintentionally. This chapter, together with the following two on the "demographic debate in the United States" and "American political interests and population statistics" are sufficient reason to purchase this extremely well-written book.

In the latter chapter on the United States, the authors cite a census report that:

> *Responses about ancestry on the 1980 and 1990 U.S. censuses indicate, implausibly, that during this ten-year period the numbers reporting German, Italian, and Polish ancestry increased by 18, 21, and 14 percent, respectively, while those reporting French and English ancestry declined by 20 and 34 percent, respectively. Over the same decade, those reporting themselves as Cajun mysteriously increased 67-fold, while the numbers reporting Croatian ancestry increased by more than 100 percent (p.155).*

Without criticizing the Census Bureau, these serve as an example of the care one has to take when using such sources of data. The authors also delve into the entire shady process of "gerrymandering" and page 159 illustrates this process with a graph of North Carolina's convoluted 12th Congressional district. We cite these examples from the book, not especially for their own direct interest, but to illustrate how far the authors have gone from simply a "question of numbers."

"Considerable historical as well as political information is included... that allows for better understanding of why countries react differently to massive demographic shifts."

Chapter 9 concentrates on the Canadian (or more specifically Quebecker) problem. This is an excellent example of how "numbers" become very important in determining the political future of a country or a part of a country. Here, once again, the reader is treated to an excellent, though brief, history of the long-simmering French-English feud among our northern neighbors. (It should be added that the book was completed prior to the recent Canadian Supreme Court decision which denied the right of a province to secede from the confe-deration.)

After two interesting and quite detailed chapters concentrating on immigration, refugees and the accompanying problems these often bring to a country, chapter 12 (with considerable foresight) discusses Islamic Fundamentalism and the West. Following the recent tragedies in the Near East, assumed to be the work of certain extremist Islamic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

groups, such a chapter could not have been more timely.

Much evidence (here and elsewhere) suggests that immigrant Muslims do not assimilate into their new places of residence as do other groups. Fundamental Islam is a force to be reckoned with as we enter the next century — if only because of its enormous population growth. The authors summarize it well:

> *The implications of this social force for migration, fertility, and national identity in both the Islamic world and neighboring regions are widespread and serious. Muslim migrants are numerous in every major European country. Fundamentalists are among them, and whenever the migrants think of themselves as mistreated by their European or American hosts, fundamentalism tends to grow. Many do not subscribe to Western views on assimilation and citizenship, preferring to tolerate the rule of infidels so long as they can practice Islam. Though tens of thousands live in the West, their hearts are not in it* (pp.224-225).

The authors argue vehemently for more international meetings on the importance of demographic changes and what they mean for all nations.

> *It is alarming that the power of demographic paradigms to guide our understanding of population change has decreased in direct proportion to the increasing prominence of migration as a demographic force. Remedying that situation is in the interests of policy makers, demographers, and the public* (p.246).

From the outset the authors make it clear that they are concerned, not only with numbers, but also with what they mean politically, historically, and economically for the nation(s) involved. They have succeeded brilliantly. However, as a reviewer whose prime field is demography, I always wonder if the arguments used on the non-demographic issues are correct. Most of the non-demographic information included in this monograph is surely correct, but errors can crop up.

One example that came to the attention of this reviewer is found on page 156: "The first [compromise]... led to the creation of a legislature consisting of two elected houses." However, it was not until the Constitution was amended in 1913 that senators were elected directly by the people. Prior to that they were selected by the respective state governments. Amendment XVII reads: "The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each state, elected by the people thereof..." Only after 1913 can it be said that "the legislature consists of two [directly] elected houses."

This, of course, is a minor error, but others may have been included that were missed by this demographically-trained reviewer. While, for the most part, I have lauded this book for its courage in going well beyond demography to better explain social situations, demographers themselves may be a little disappointed that more demography is not included. For example, very little is said about the extremely low fertility rates in Europe (as compared to the rest of the world) and what that might mean for the future. Indeed, very little is said about the 21st century. This is not intended as a criticism — it undoubtedly was not the intention of the authors to speculate that far into the future.

"The authors argue vehemently for more international meetings on the importance of demographic changes and what they mean for all nations."

At the beginning of this review, I mentioned the teams of Abbott and Costello, Hammerstein and Rodgers. Perhaps a third Teitelbaum-Winter book will address some of the 21st century issues that may evolve from the enormous demographic shifts now taking place, not only in Europe and America, but throughout the world. They will then be, without question, a "demographic duo."

I highly recommend this book (as well as its predecessor) not only to demographers, but to anyone interested in our planet, its people, and where we are going. It is extremely well written and it is clear and concise. In other words, it is a must for anyone interested in the overall topic of demography as it relates to other issues. TSC

NOTE

[1]See Teitelbaum and Winter, *The Fear of Population Decline*, 1985.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Living In an Increasingly Unnatural State

California overwhelmed by human numbers

Book Review by Tom Andres

In his foreword to Steven Gilbar's excellent anthology, David Brower writes, "the 2 million Californians here when I arrived have already become 32 million. California wildness deserves a chance to recover, and *Natural State* lets us know why." Well said, but with California's population increasing by over 423,000 annually, much of it fueled by mass immigration and resultant birthrates, the larger question is obviously *how*.

While by no means a sad book, packed with 40 eclectic selections — among them John Steinbeck's "Flight" into the unforgiving chaparral, Robert Louis Stevenson's mesmerizing "The Sea Fogs," Jack London's liberating "On Sonoma Mountain" (latter two excerpted from differently titled larger works) — it would be difficult to read *Natural State* without feeling frequent twinges of loss.

Natural State, A Literary Anthology of California Nature Writing
Selected and edited by Stephen Gilbar
Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998
377 pages, $15.95

Sometimes it is explicit, such as Wallace Stegner's melancholy "Remnants," or David Darlington's "In Condor Country." Other times the reader knows what is to come.

In the 1860s' "Into the [Salinas] Valley," William Brewer writes about the now extinct California grizzly: "A man stands a slight chance if he wounds a bear, but not mortally, and a shot must be well directed to kill. The universal advice by everybody is to let them alone if we see them, unless we are well prepared for battle and have experienced hunters along."

In "Ramblings in Yosemite," approaching the High Sierra in the 1870s, Joseph LeConte is struck by "the great massiveness and grandeur of the clouds and the extreme blueness of the sky." Mark Twain's "Lake Tahoe" is "not *merely* transparent, but dazzlingly, brilliantly so."

Recurrent is the desire to get away from the multitudes. In "Climbing Matterhorn Peak," Jack Kerouac's character, Japhy Ryder, "modeled on the poet Gary Snyder," is determined to camp far enough along so that he and his buddies won't "wake up tomorrow morning and find three dozen school teachers on horseback frying bacon in our backyard."

Also on Yosemite, Ann Zwinger, "Trumpets of Light," writes: "More than 706,000 acres, over 94 percent of the park, is managed as wilderness and can never be developed. A permit system applies to hikers and groups on horseback who plan to remain overnight, thus guaranteeing that hikers are not falling over one another or overusing one area."

Three cheers for good management, but how rarely it is mentioned in such encouragingly enlightened accounts that ever-growing future populations will mean ever-shrinking nature rations available to any given potential wilderness permitee, or any general park visitor for that matter. Outside tourist numbers aside, California is projecting a tripling of the Sierra Nevada population between 1990 and 2040.

There do seem to exist a few natural California features beyond the ability of human numbers to overwhelm, such as the tule fog in California's Great

***Tom Andres** is a freelance writer living in Santa Barbara, California. A previous contributor to* The Social Contract, *he can be reached at P.O. Box 3497, Santa Barbara, CA 93130; tandres399@aol.com.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Central Valley. David Mas Masumoto, "Winter's Fog," writes, "The fog continues to roll in. Where it's heading I do not know. It passes in front of the porch like a shifting cloud. If I stare at it long enough, it seems that I start to move instead. I imagine our farmhouse cutting through the gray mist like a lost ship, my porch transformed into the bridge."

Unfortunately, while the fog is still rolling in, so are the subdivisions. California farmland is now sinking beneath them at such a rate that the Central Valley has earned the American Farmland Trust's designation as the nation's number one most threatened agricultural area."

On Southern California, Joan Didion, "The Santa Ana," corrects the misconception of an endlessly bland climate, the reality being "infrequent but violent extremes." Of course, we experience ever more destructive extremes as ever greater numbers of us continue our lemming-like advance onto shorelines, wildfire zones, flood plains and cliff edges.

Nor does Los Angeles smog go unrepresented. Hildegarde Flanner, "A Vanishing Land," writes, "From the foothills above Pasadena I can see for sixty miles or more ... All this delights the eye, the mind, the heart, with romantic geometries and the pride of home. But not for long. Gradually all those remarkable harmonies and differences of texture fade and flatten, while a horizon of spectral murk advances ... a mobile, drifting wall."

That was LA smog in the 1950s, to be improved by later clean air laws, improvements now being canceled out by — you guessed it — population growth.

Natural State has an eloquent afterword by Gary Snyder, advocating "a non-nationalistic idea of community, in which commitment to pure place is paramount [and] cannot be ethnic or racist. Here is perhaps the most delicious turn that comes out of thinking about politics from the standpoint of place: anyone of any race, language, religion, or origin is welcome, as long as they live well on the land."

Yes, a greater sense of community, of place, is one reason I subscribe to *The Social Contract*, but isn't it a little late in the day for us to be betting the farm on reinventing humankind?

Could one warning sign be that among all the peoples of Earth it is probably only those of European heritage who would consider making ethnicity irrelevant to place "delicious?" Or even think it remotely possible? And how would it work? Would a family that champions feminism live serenely next door to one devoutly believing in female circumcision, since both would have an overriding commitment to the Sacramento River watershed?

Setting aside Mr. Snyder — who has written some sensible things on immigration, but then notes that they do not apply to Mexico, which we must first help "transform!" — it became evident in the recent Sierra Club immigration vote debate that one popular way to avoid taking a position on a controversial problem is to talk about a future "we must" thought-revolution that conveniently erases the to-be-avoided problem.

Although not necessarily a conscious calculation,

"...population growth is America's number one nature-flattening machine ... mostly fueled by relentless mass immigration."

prognosticating something as huge as a thought-revolution excuses prognosticators from ever having to provide the details of just how it could possibly come about, providing a way to appear courageously visionary while hiding.

Among its other strengths, Steven Gilbar's fascinating book should serve as a reminder to many of just what it is we are losing, and how fast. Not only for the now 33 million Californians, but also for every citizen of what might be called our Natural Nation.

The fact remains that population growth is America's number one nature-flattening machine, a machine that is mostly fueled by relentless mass immigration.

Which gets back to David Brower's "chance to recover" and the question of *how*?

Obviously, at a minimum, an immigration moratorium — and soon. TSC

Source for the state's current annual population increase: Californians for Population Stabilization (CAPS), 926 "J" Street, Suite 915, Sacramento, CA 95814, caps@calweb.com.

For Gary Snyder on "Migration/Immigration," see *Wild Duck Review*, Winter 1998.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Overcoming Innumeracy

Book Review by John Rohe

One of the penalties of an ecological education is that one lives alone in a world of wounds.
— Aldo Leopold, *Round River*

If you thought mathematical equations on population, migration and resource depletion were best left to the nerdy, brainy types in some ivory tower, then think again.

In *Consilience*, Edward O. Wilson attempts to bridge the gap between the humanities and the sciences. He states: "We are drowning in information, while starving for wisdom." To forge a union among the disciplines it will be necessary to assail "innumeracy" (a term commonly invoked by noted biologist Garrett Hardin). Innumeracy is the mathematical equivalent of illiteracy.

Conventional textbooks often instill an unexamined conviction of the business community: economic reports and business forecasts usually assume that growth is good and more growth is better. These reports echo an oversight in the educational system which can only be overcome if we can engender an appreciation for basic math. We know that a finite planet cannot accommodate perpetual growth, yet this false assumption underlies many false conclusions.

Environmental awareness requires us to overcome inhibitions about math. How else can we knowledgeably respond to destructively naive claims. For example, Rush Limbaugh asserts that pollutants from volcanic eruptions dwarfs those produced by human activity. *Environmental Issues* enables its reader to calculate the total CO_2 emissions from Mt. Pinatubo that equal .3% of the annual CO_2 emissions by human activity. McConnell and Abel should find a receptive market among those intimidated by numbers.

Environmental Issues: Measuring, Analyzing and Evaluating
by Robert L. McConnell and Daniel C. Abel
Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1999
205 pages, $25.00

With the precision of a technician and the compassion of a playwright, this book deftly weaves through an otherwise tangled web of mathematical uncertainty. In a step-by-step process the authors carry us through a series of "story problems." For example, the book systematically works through math problems such as:

- Using the present world population growth rate, how long will it take for humans to reach a density of one person per square meter of dry land?
- What is the incremental additional drain on fossil fuels by the increasing sales of sports utility vehicles?
- What will be the impact of 300 million additional motor vehicles in China?
- What is the loss of electrical energy attributable to the U.S. discarding 50 billion aluminum cans annually?
- What volume of water is consumed by our perceived need to maintain lawns?
- How long would fossil fuels last if the rest of the world were to adopt the consumption patterns of the United States?
- What is the thermal expansion of sea water, and how would sea level be affected by a one degree Centigrade rise in sea water temperature?

By hiding behind obscure equations the mathematician can easily alienate anyone. To dispel the mystique of math for a layman requires an affinity for simplicity. These authors bring this affinity along with a compassion for future generations.

***John Rohe** is an attorney in Petoskey, Michigan, with a longstanding interest in environmental concerns. He is author of* A Bicentennial Malthusian Essay: Conservation, Population and the Indifference to Limits. *Copies may be ordered from The Social Contract Press, 1-800-352-4843.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The book is compatible with a college curriculum, however it could also be used in advanced high school programs. It is a valuable resource for anyone wondering whatever happened to critical thinking in America. The analysis and synthesis of ideas in this book represents a disciplined thought process reduced to its bare essentials.

McConnell and Abel apologetically comment on a bias in their orientation. Admittedly, the book espouses an environmental ethic and a regard for the future. In an educational system steeped in the traditions of the growth ethic, an apology may be in order, but not from these authors.

The only shortcoming about this book is its name. The title *Environmental Issues* becomes pedestrian, commonplace. And it lacks clarity. The following title, while lacking brevity, is respectfully offered as a substitute: *Mandatory Math for Politicians, Parents, Anyone Hoping to Someday Become a Respected Ancestor, and a Prerequisite Manual for an Informed Electorate.* TSC

Global Capitalism Is Not All It's Cracked Up to Be

Free market orthodoxy is called into question

Book Review by Ted Wheelwright

There is now a spate of books criticizing the globalization of capitalism. This is one of the latest and best, as would be expected from a professor of politics at Oxford University, especially one who was a former supporter of the New Right. The historical approach adopted is clear from the first chapter onward, which begins thus:

> *Mid-nineteenth century England was the subject of a far-reaching experiment in social engineering. Its objective was to free economic life from social and political control and it did so by constructing a new institution, the free market... which created a new type of economy in which prices of all goods... changed without regard to their effects on society* (p.1).

False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism
by John Gray
London: Granta Publications, 1998
233 pages, £17.99

***Ted Wheelwright** teaches in the Department of Geography at the University of Sydney, Australia.*

This process was called *The Great Transformation* by Karl Polanyi who wrote a classic book with that title in 1944 (Boston: Beacon Press) showing how the previous social markets were demolished and replaced by de-regulated markets operating independently of social needs. This happened *within* many nation states, beginning with the United Kingdom in the 19th century, and is now accelerating within the world economy.

Gray considers that a similar transformation is now occurring within the world economy and led by so-called transnational organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). In the 19th century the country leading that transformation was the UK; in the late 20th century it is the USA:

> *According to the "Washington consensus," "democratic capitalism" will soon be accepted throughout the world... The manifold economic cultures and systems that the world has always*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contained will be redundant. They will be merged into a single universal free market (p.2).

Gray thinks this utopia can never be realized; its pursuit has already "produced social dislocation and economic and political instability on a large scale" (p.2). He thinks that free markets in the USA have contributed to social breakdown there on a scale unknown elsewhere. They have also generated a long economic boom from which the majority of Americans hardly benefit, yet despite high levels of inequality such markets remain the sacred cow of American politics. Economic globalization works to undermine global laissez-faire:

> *There is nothing in today's global market that buffers it against the social strains arising from highly uneven economic development within and between the world's diverse societies. The swift waxing and waning of industries and livelihoods, the sudden shifts of production and capital, the casino of currency speculation — these conditions trigger political counter-movements that challenge the very ground rules of the global free market* (p.7).

"The social costs of a completely free market cannot be legitimated for long in a democracy, because its counterpart is a 'politics of insecurity.'...[its legal framework] must be placed beyond the reach of any democratic legislature."

Gray stresses that the free market is Anglo-Saxon in origin, being constructed in a context not found in any other European society. These Anglo-Saxon countries — UK, USA, New Zealand and Canada, never had peasantries, but a culture of agrarian individualism which preceded industrialization.

This incubated a culture in which the free market could be established, and presupposed "exceptional legal, social and economic conditions, along with the ruthless use of the powers of a strong state." Even in such favorable environments, the free market proved so costly in human terms and so disruptive of the life of society that it could not be rendered stable" (p.14).

Consequently, as the democratic franchise was extended, so was state intervention, from the 1870s to World War I, which saw the foundation of the welfare state in Britain. Free trade was abandoned with the onset of the Great Depression. The political influence of laissez-faire was killed off, but "the classical liberal illusion of the free market as a self-regulating system still lingered through the inter-war years." It took World War II to "jolt economic orthodoxy into accepting Keynesian ideas" (p.15).

Gray makes the important point that the managed economies of the post-war period did not arise from an "intellectual conversion from laissez-faire," but from the horror of economic collapse and the dictatorships that led to World War II. British voters, for example, had no wish to return to the social order of the inter-war years. "In Britain, the idea was killed by the experience of a war economy, far more efficient than that of Nazi Germany, in which joblessness was unknown, and nutrition and health standards higher for the majority than they had been in peace time (p.16)."

He considers that as a result of the de-regulation and "marketization" which was installed in many countries in the 1980s, a breakdown of the present global regime could well result. The free market, he tells us

> *is a product of artifice, design and political coercion ... it is an end-product of social engineering and unyielding political will. It was feasible in nineteenth century England only because, and for so long as, functioning democratic institutions were lacking* (p.17).

In short, contrary to popular belief, Gray emphasizes that free markets are not natural, they are *creatures of state power.* The social costs of a completely free market cannot be legitimated for long in a democracy, because its natural counterpart is a "politics of insecurity." Hence, those who seek to design one on a world scale insist that "the legal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

framework which defines and entrenches it must be placed beyond the reach of any democratic legislature" (p.18).

This, then, points to the power of transnational organizations such as the WTO which determines what is to count as free trade, and what is restraint of trade. Such organizations are relatively immune from the pressures of democratic political life.

Restoring free markets has effected "profound ruptures" in societies where it has been attempted, but they have not succeeded in "establishing the hegemonic power that was envisaged... In all democratic states the political supremacy of the free market is incomplete, precarious, and soon undermined. *It cannot easily survive periods of protracted economic set-back*" (p.19, emphasis added).

"New technologies and free markets make full employment policies unworkable. Global markets transmit this instability to every country in the world, and in so doing 'they make a new politics of economic insecurity universal.'"

New technologies and free markets make full employment policies unworkable. Global markets transmit this instability to every country in the world, and in so doing "they make a new politics of economic insecurity universal" (p.20).

American readers will be particularly interested in Chapter 5, "The United States and the Utopia of Global Capitalism," which begins by stating that "global laissez-faire is an American project." The USA is said to be "detaching itself from other 'western' cultures in the extremity of its experiment in free-market social engineering and in the intensity of the fundamentalist movements which that experiment is evoking." These are seen as a response by American society to the derelictions wrought on it by a radically modernist economic system (p.103).

In the 1980s, a free-market orthodoxy "established its ascendancy over American public culture ... the Soviet collapse granted a new lease on life to the faltering American conviction that the U.S. embodies the modern age as no other country does" p.103). Whereas earlier in this century the American messianic tradition had "a noble and generous expression in Rooseveltian liberalism ... today the free market has displaced this." The result has been to make liberalism "illegitimate in American public culture ... conservatives have become ranting evangelists for global capitalism" (p.104).

The Right "sought to identify American institutions with the free market," despite the fact that American government has never observed a rule of non-interference in economic life. Remolding America to suit the imperatives of free markets has involved the use of corporate and governmental power to bring about levels of economic inequality unknown since the 1920s, rupturing the liberal capitalism that produced America's post-war supremacy (p.107).

Gray considers that America is no longer a bourgeois society, but a divided society

> *in which an anxious majority is wedged between an underclass that has no hope, and an overclass that denies any civic obligations ... the political economy of the free market and the moral economy of bourgeois civilization have diverged — in all likelihood permanently* (p.111).

There are equally penetrating chapters on post-communist Russia and Asia's capitalism, for which there is no space to discuss here. The final chapter, "The Ends of Laissez-faire," emphasizes that free markets are not self-regulating, they are prone to speculative booms and busts — financial markets in particular do not tend to equilibrium, especially now they are de-regulated. "*This volatility at the core of de-regulated financial institutions makes for a world economy that is organized as a system of free markets, essentially unstable*" (p.197, emphasis added).

As a result, he concludes, "we stand on the brink not of an era of plenty that free marketeers project, but a tragic epoch, in which anarchic market forces and shrinking natural resources drag sovereign states into ever-more dangerous rivalries" (p.207). TSC

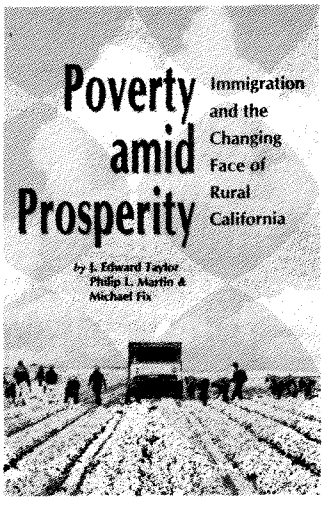
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Importing Poverty

Book Review by Wayne Lutton

Poverty amid Prosperity: Immigration and the Changing Face of Rural California
by J. Edward Taylor, Philip L. Martin, and Michael Fix
Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press
110 pages, $21.50 paperback

The links between agribusiness, immigration, welfare use, and the demographic and economic transformation of rural California are revealed in this concise study. Based on U.S. Census data and community-level academic research reports, the authors of *Poverty amid Prosperity* find that highly profitable agri-operations, often owned by East Coast and Japanese concerns, annually import thousands of foreign workers to pick strawberries, broccoli, lettuce, cauliflower, and other high-value fruits and vegetables. Instead of employing Americans at decent wages, corporate owners use farm labor contractors (FLCs) who hire gangs of (largely illegal) aliens to do the work. Since the 1980s, farm worker earnings have plummeted 40 to 60 percent.


Poverty amid Prosperity
Immigration and the Changing Face of Rural California
by J. Edward Taylor
Philip L. Martin &
Michael Fix

Many of the poor Mexicans recruited by the FLCs are electing to remain in the United States. Drawn here by agricorporations, they are transforming rural sections of California from what were, as recently as the 1970s largely white and relatively prosperous areas, into poverty stricken tracts whose growing populations are making increasing demands on taxpayer supported public services. Thirteen federal programs serve only or primarily migrant and seasonal farm workers and their families.

Apologists for cheap farm labor try to scare consumers by charging that grocery store costs would skyrocket if they didn't have a steady annual supply of alien migrant workers, and that further mechanization of harvesting is not an option. The authors discount both of these assertions.

First, labor counts as a very small percentage of the retail price of food as it moves from the farm to the grocery store. The end cost to consumers of a stable, better paid agricultural workforce would be measured in pennies, not hundreds of dollars, per year. This does not include the additional savings to taxpayers of potentially lower demands on public services from a more prosperous farming community.

Secondly, university-based agriculture school research into additional labor-saving harvest procedures and equipment, which made remarkable gains into the 1970s, has come to a virtual halt.

The authors summarize the situation:

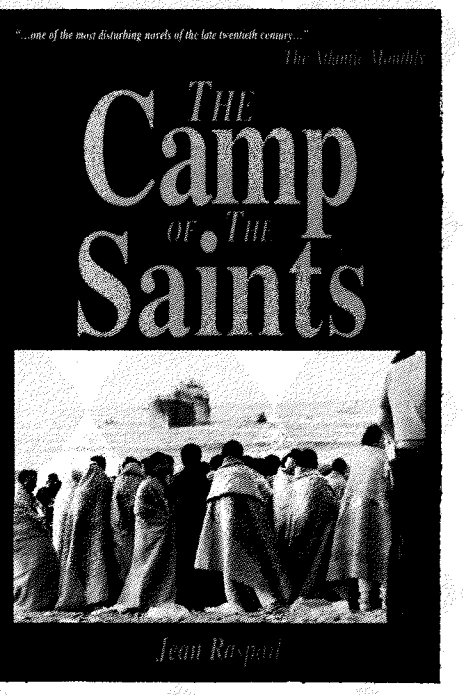
in the long run, the relationship between farm employment, immigration, and poverty is circular. The presence of low-skilled immigrant workers creates an incentive for farmers to expand their production of labor-intensive specialty crops. Increased employment in these crops, in turn, stimulates immigration.... The result is a patchwork of poverty and prosperity in rural areas, the juxtaposition of the world's most prosperous agricultural sector with growing concentrations of poverty in the towns that house the farm work force.... Taxpayers indirectly subsidize the expansion of labor-intensive agriculture by shouldering the public-assistance costs of supporting an impoverished farm worker population... Farmers do not factor these public-assistance needs of low-wage workers into their decisions to plant labor-intensive crops.

Readers of this study will conclude that agribusiness cares nothing for the country they are based in and the people they exploit. It is also clear that the endless demand for cheap labor threatens to transform more than just one western state. What we are witnessing in California is a grim foreshadowing of what is likely to occur wherever corporate agriculture reigns. TSC

Wayne Lutton, Ph.D., *is editor of* The Social Contract.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Back in print — the prophetic French novel about the end of the Western World, first published in 1973 and admirably translated by Norman Shapiro.


"...one of the most disturbing novels of the late twentieth century..."
The Atlantic Monthly
The Camp of the Saints
Jean Raspail

THE CAMP OF THE SAINTS

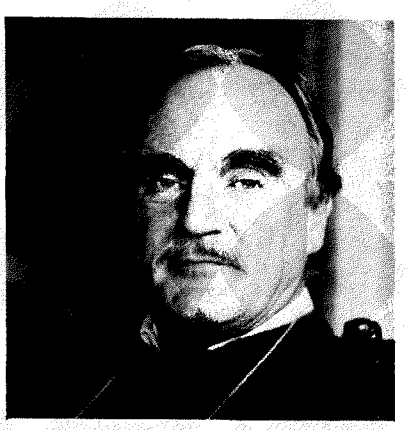
BY JEAN RASPAIL

Originally published in France, *The Camp of the Saints* has been described as the *1984* of the late twentieth century. The Social Contract Press is pleased to be able to offer a reprint of this gripping novel, which envisions the overrunning of European civilization by burgeoning Third World populations.
Soft cover, 316 pages, **$12.95**

Some comments from satisfied readers through Amazon Books @amazon.com:

Mr. Raspail has authored a book that, while thankfully far off the mark concerning Indians and others, offers a truly harrowing scenario of the death of the West. Those who can bravely trudge through the entire book with no knee-jerk reactions will be rewarded with a monumental question: How *would* the rich nations of the world respond to an invasion of the poor? Don't condemn the book before you read it. Mr. Raspail will have you cheering for his heroes before you realize what you're doing.

— A reader from Louisville, KY



Author Jean Raspail

However much I disagree with most of Raspail's political beliefs and his depiction of Africans and Asians, this is still one of my favorite novels. Raspail spares no one, either left or right, European or Third World, from some of the most enjoyable misanthropic ranting since Celine's. Anyone who reads this as a simplistic propaganda piece against immigration is missing the point.

— A reader from North Carolina

If you think of yourself as politically correct, this is not going to be your kind of book. It deals with the destruction of Western civilization and values when the Western countries fail to take action to stem a tide of immigration, and submit to their domination through a sense of unwarranted racial guilt. There are too many parallels to actual events to deny its plausibility.

— A reader from Dallas, TX

Toll free order number:

1-800-352-4843

or fax us at (616) 347-1171

Mastercard and Visa accepted

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT PRESS
316½ E. Mitchell St. • Petoskey, MI 49770

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED